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This Old Book was given me by
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of Merton College Oxford
Being pleased with my MS
On my reading it to him.
He then took me on as a regular
student under him — a
really great honour
as he generally took only the most
advanced students
and usually only men.

from
H.D. Helen Darbishire, My Tutor

UTOPIA:

CONTAINING AN

IMPARTIAL HISTORY

OF THE

MANNERS, CUSTOMS, POLITY, GOVERNMENT, &c. OF THAT ISLAND.

WRITTEN IN LATIN

BY SIR THOMAS MORE,

CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND;

And interſperſed with many important Articles of Secret Hiſtory, relating to the State of the Britiſh Nation.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

By GILBERT BURNET, late Biſhop of Sarum;

TO THIS EDITION IS ADDED,

AN ACCOUNT OF

SIR THOMAS MORE's LIFE.

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THE

AUTHOR's EPISTLE

TO

PETER GILES.

I AM almoſt aſhamed, my deareſt Peter Giles, to ſend you this Book of the Utopian Common-Wealth, after almoſt a year's delay; when you no doubt looked for it in ſix weeks: for as you are ſenſible that I had no occaſion to make uſe of my invention, or to take pains to put things into a method, becauſe I had nothing to do, but to repeat exactly what I heard Raphael relate in your preſence; ſo a ſtudied elegance of expreſſion would have been here unneceſſary. Since as he delivered things to us of the ſudden, and in a careleſs ſtyle; he being, you know, a greater maſter of the Greek, than of the Latin; the plainer my words are, they will the better reſemble his ſimplicity, and will conſequently be nearer to the truth. This is all that I think lies on me, and the only thing in which I thought myſelf concerned: I confeſs that I had here very little left for me to do; for the invention and ordering of ſuch a ſcheme would have coſt a man, whoſe ca-

pacity and learning was of the ordinary ſtandard, ſome pains and time. But if it had been neceſſary, that this relation ſhould have been not only conſiſtent with truth, but expreſſed with elegance, it could never have been performed by me, even after all the pains and time that I could have beſtowed upon it. My part in it was ſo very ſmall, that it could not give me much trouble, all that belonged to me being only to give a true and full account of the things that I had heard: but though this required ſo very little of my time, yet even that little was long denied me by my other affairs, which preſs much upon me: for while in pleading, and hearing, in judging or compoſing of cauſes, in waiting on ſome men upon buſineſs, and on others out of reſpect, the greateſt part of the day is ſpent on other men's affairs, the remainder of it muſt be given to my family at home: ſo that I can reſerve no part of it to myſelf, that is, to my ſtudy: I muſt talk with my wife, and chat with my children, and I have ſomewhat to ſay to my ſervants: all theſe things I reckon as a part of buſineſs, except a man will reſolve to be a ſtranger at home; for with whomſoever either nature, chance, or choice has engaged a man, in any commerce, he muſt endeavour to make himſelf as acceptable to thoſe about him, as he poſſibly can; uſing ſtill ſuch a temper, that he may not ſpoil them by an exceſſive gentleneſs, ſo that his ſervants may not become his maſters. In ſuch things as theſe, days, months, and years ſlip away; what is then left for writing? And yet I have ſaid nothing of that time that muſt go for ſleep, or for meat: in which many waſte almoſt as much of their time, as in ſleep, which conſumes very near

the

the half of our life; and indeed all the time which I can gain to myſelf, is that which I ſteal from my ſleep and my meals; and becauſe that is not much, I have made but a ſlow progreſs; yet as it is ſomewhat, I have at laſt got to an end of my Utopia, which I now ſend to you, and expect that after you have read it, you will let me know if you can put me in mind of any thing that has eſcaped me; for though I would think myſelf very happy, if I had but as much invention and learning as I know I have memory, which makes me generally depend much upon it, yet I do not rely ſo entirely on it, as to think I can forget nothing.

My ſervant, John Clement, has ſtarted ſome things that ſhake me: you know he was preſent with us, as I think he ought to be, at every converſation that may be of uſe to him; for I promiſe myſelf great matters from the progreſs he has ſo early made in the Greek and Roman learning. As far as my memory ſerves me, the bridge over Anider at Amaurot, was, according to Raphael's account, five hundred paces broad; but John aſſures me, he ſpoke only of three hundred paces; therefore, pray recollect what you can remember of this, for if you agree with him, I will believe that I have been miſtaken; but if you remember nothing of it, I will not alter what I have written, becauſe it is according to the beſt of my remembrance: for as I will take care that there may be nothing falſely ſet down, ſo if there is any thing doubtful, though I may perhaps tell a lie, yet I am ſure I will not make one; for I would rather paſs for a good man than for a wiſe one: but it will

be

be eaſy to correct this miſtake, if you can either meet with Raphael himſelf, or know how to write to him.

I have another difficulty that preſſes me more, and makes your writing to him the more neceſſary: I know not whom I ought to blame for it, whether Raphael, you, or myſelf; for as we did not think of aſking it, ſo neither did he of telling us, in what part of the new world Utopia is ſituated; this was ſuch an omiſſion, that I would gladly redeem it at any rate: I am aſhamed, that after I have told ſo many things concerning this iſland, I cannot let my readers know in what ſea it lies. There are ſome among us that have a mighty deſire to go thither, and in particular, one pious divine is very earneſt upon it, not ſo much out of a vain curioſity of ſeeing unknown countries, as that he may advance our religion, which is ſo happily begun to be planted there; and that he may do this regularly, he intends to procure a miſſion from the pope, and to be ſent thither as their biſhop. In ſuch a caſe as this, he makes no ſcruple of aſpiring to that character, but thinks ſuch ambition meritorious, while actuated ſolely by a pious zeal; he deſires it only as the means of advancing the Chriſtian religion, and not for any honour or advantage that may accrue to himſelf. Therefore I earneſtly beg, that if you can poſſibly meet with Raphael, or if you know how to write to him, you will be pleaſed to inform yourſelf of theſe things, that there may be no falſhood left in my book, nor any important truth wanting. And perhaps it will not be unfit to let him ſee the book itſelf: for as no man can correct any errors that may be in it, ſo well as he, ſo by reading it

it he will be able to give a more perfect judgment of it, than he can do upon any diſcourſe concerning it: and you will be likewiſe able to diſcover whether this undertaking of mine is acceptable to him or not; for if he intends to write a relation of his travels, perhaps he will not be pleaſed that I ſhould prevent him, in that part that belongs to the Utopian Commonwealth; ſince, if I ſhould do ſo, his book will not ſurprize the world with the pleaſure which this new diſcovery will give the age. And I am ſo little fond of appearing in print upon this occaſion, that if he diſlikes it, I will lay it aſide; and even though he ſhould approve of it, I am not poſitively determined as to the publiſhing it. Men's taſtes differ much; ſome are of ſo moroſe a temper, ſo ſour a diſpoſition, and make ſuch abſurd judgments of things, that men of cheerful and lively tempers, who indulge their genius, ſeem much more happy than thoſe who waſte their time and ſtrength in order to publiſhing a book, which, though of itſelf it might be uſeful or pleaſant, yet, inſtead of being well received, will be ſure to be either laughed at, or cenſured. Many know nothing of learning, and others deſpiſe it: a man that is accuſtomed to a coarſe and harſh ſtyle, thinks every thing is rough that is not barbarous. Our trifling pretenders to learning, think all is ſlight that is not dreſſed up in words that are worn out of uſe; ſome love only old things, and many like nothing but what is their own. Some are ſo ſour that they can allow no jeſts, and others ſo dull that they can endure nothing that is ſharp; while others are as much afraid of any thing gay and lively, as a man bit with a mad dog is of water; others

others are so light and unsettled, that their thoughts change as quick as they do their postures: some again, when they meet in taverns, take upon them among their cups to pass censures very freely on all writers; and, with a supercilious liberty, to condemn every thing they do not like: in which they have an advantage, like that of a bald man, who can catch hold of another by the hair, while the other cannot return the like upon him. They are safe as it were from gun-shot, since there is nothing in them solid enough to be taken hold of. Others are so unthankful, that even when they are well pleased with a book, yet they think they owe nothing to the author; and are like those rude guests, who, after they have been well entertained at a good dinner, when they have glutted their appetites, go away without so much as thanking him that treated them. But who would put himself to the charge of making a feast for men of such nice palates, and so different tastes; who are so forgetful of the civilities that are paid them? But do you once clear those points with Raphael, and then it will be time enough to consider whether it be fit to publish it or not; for since I have been at the pains to write it, if he consents to its being published, I will follow my friends advice, and chiefly your's. Farewell, my dear Peter, commend me kindly to your good wife, and love me still as you used to do, for I assure you I love you daily more and more.

LIFE

LIFE

OF

SIR THOMAS MORE.

NO true patriot, no lover of humanity, can be totally indifferent to the hiſtory of that amiable and virtuous hero of political honeſty, that bold oppoſer of prerogative in the Britiſh Senate, who, while yet denominated a beardleſs boy, ſtemmed alone the mighty torrent of royal omnipotence, though he might eaſily have commanded the favour of a Court; and who, after having paſſed his life in advocating the rights of man, fell a cheerful victim to his probity, his patriotiſm, and his virtue; or rather to the lawleſs ambition of a ſavage deſpot.

Sir Thomas More, only ſon of Sir John More, Knight, one of the Judges of the King's-Bench, was born in Milk-ſtreet, London, in the year 1480. He firſt went to a ſchool at St. Anthony's in Threadneedle-ſtreet, and was

afterwards introduced, on account of his promiſing talents, into the family of Cardinal John Moreton, who in 1497 ſent him to Canterbury College, Oxford. He there was under the tuition of Lynacre, and attended Grocinus's lectures on the Greek language, in which it is ſaid he ſoon very much excelled.

Having made a conſiderable proficiency, during two years reſidence, in various branches of academical learning, he came to New Inn, London, at nineteen years of age, to ſtudy the law. And having ſome time after removed to Lincoln's-Inn, of which his father was a member, he was at length called to the bar.

But neither a liberal education, as ſcholaſtic learning is falſely called, nor brilliant talents; neither virtue nor good ſenſe, were in that age of eccleſiaſtic ſlavery and deſpotic oppreſſion, ſufficient to free his unſuſpecting youth from the trammels of bigotry and ſuperſtition, with which the hypocriſy of the prieſthood had learned, under the maſk of religion, to ſubdue mankind. He even ſubmitted to the ſeverity of monkiſh diſcipline, wore a hair ſhirt next his ſkin, frequently faſted, and often ſlept on a bare plank.

At the age of twenty-one Mr. More became a Member of the Houſe of Commons; and about two years after he had taken his ſeat, in 1503, very much diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by oppoſing a demand of a ſubſidy and three-fifteenths, for the marriage of Henry VII.'s eldeſt daughter Margaret, to the King of Scotland. Though many of the members were ſo weak and ſo corrupt, as to be deterred from their duty by the apprehenſion of the King's diſpleaſure, Mr.

More

More oppoſed the motion with ſo much force and eloquence, that it was at length rejected.

As ſoon as this vote was thrown out, Mr. Tyler one of the King's Privy Council, informed his Majeſty that a beardleſs boy had defeated his purpoſe. The King was highly incenſed at the diſappointment of his wiſhes, but as young More had nothing to loſe, he revenged himſelf by ſending his father to the Tower for a pretended offence, and keeping him in cloſe confinement till he conſented to pay £100 for his liberty.

Mr. More having ſoon after received information, from his friend Mr. Whiteford, Chaplain to Biſhop Fox, that the Court were laying ſnares for him, probably by the means of *ſpies and informers*, determined to decline the practice of the law, and viſit the Continent. He therefore applied to the ſtudy of French, and made himſelf maſter of moſt of the liberal ſciences; paying particular attention to perfect his knowledge of hiſtory. In his leiſure hours he ſeems to have relaxed his mind by muſic, being a very good performer on the violin. But meeting with no further diſturbance, he abandoned his intention of leaving his native country.

As ſoon as Mr. More had put on the gown, he read public lectures in St. Lawrence's Church, on St. Auguſtine's treatiſe de Civitate Dei, with great applauſe. He was then appointed law-reader in Furnival's-Inn, and held that place about three years. After which he took lodgings near the Charter-Houſe, and joined in all the religious exerciſes of that ſociety, but without engaging in any vow. He even formed a deſign of burying his

talents and virtues, by becoming a Franciſcan friar, and embracing the order of prieſthood. But he was fortunately diſſuaded from that deſign; and after four years ſpent in theſe futile auſterities, married, by the advice of Dr. Colet, Dean of St. Paul's and founder of the ſchool, Jane, the eldeſt daughter of John Colt Eſq. of Newhall in Eſſex. And having ſettled his family in Bucklerſbury, he attended his profeſſion at his chambers in Lincoln's-Inn, till he was called to the bench.

Mr. More's delicacy towards the feelings of others, and the diſintereſtedneſs of his character, extended even to his choice of a companion for life. For though he felt a predilection for the ſecond daughter, he was induced to offer his hand to the eldeſt, by the pain he apprehended he might otherwiſe give her.

In 1508, about a year before Henry VIII. came to the throne, Mr. More was appointed Judge of the Sheriff's Court, in the city of London, and was made a Juſtice of the Peace. He became ſo eminent at the bar, as to be retained in almoſt every important cauſe, and though he only undertook ſuch as his conſcience approved, and never took fees of widows, orphans, or perſons in poor circumſtances, he acquired an eſtate of £400 per annum, which at that time was very conſiderable.

The laborious duties of his profeſſion did not, however, prevent his literary talents from enlightening mankind. For during this active part of his life, in the year 1516, he publiſhed his immortal *EUTOPIA, of which the merit

* Etymology not being attended to in the time of Sir Thomas More, ſo much as it deſerves, he omitted the letter E in the name of his republic. Or rather

merit was ſo manifeſt, that it was *very ſoon* tranſlated into French, Dutch and Italian. And many learned men were ſo pleaſed with the deſcriptions it contains, of the climate inſtitutions and manners of Eutopia, and ſo little ſuſpected that it was only a philoſophical fiction, that they were deſirous of having ſome prieſts ſent thither, in order to preach Chriſtianity, and even projected making the voyage themſelves: forgetting, that to adopt the ſyſtem of religion, to which Conſtantine firſt gave that name, would have deſtroyed thoſe very advantages, which Eutopia boaſted above other countries.

Before Mr. More entered into the King's immediate ſervice, he had been twice employed, with his Majeſty's conſent, as agent for the Engliſh merchants, in ſome conſiderable diſputes between them and the merchants of the Steelyard. And the ſame year that the Eutopia was publiſhed, (1516) he went to Flanders in the ſuite of Biſhop Tonſtal and Dr. Knight, who were ſent by Henry VIII. to renew his alliance with the Archduke of Auſtria, afterwards Charles V.

On his return, Cardinal Wolſey would have engaged Mr. More in the ſervice of the Crown, and offered him *a penſion*. But this he honeſtly refuſed. And appearing in the Star-Chamber, a few years after, as an advocate againſt the Crown, he recovered for the Pope, a ſhip, which having put into Southampton, was in defiance of good faith, claimed as a forfeiture by the King. This

rather perhaps, he omitted that letter, the better to conceal the fiction, at a period when truth was dangerous. In either caſe the etymology may be now reſtored, and we ſhall accordingly correct it, wherever accuracy permits.

new diſplay of abilities was a further inducement for the Court to wiſh for his ſervices; and though More had done what every honeſt man ever will, refuſed a gratuitous pay, he accepted the place of Maſter of the Requeſts, which for want of a better vacancy, was now offered him. For, as one of his biographers informs us, no entreaty could prevail on the King to diſpenſe with his ſervices. A month after this, he was made Knight and Privy Counſellor; and on the death of Mr. Weſton, the following year, (1520) Treaſurer of the Exchequer. To this office, as well as his preceding honours, he was raiſed without any ſolicitation on his own part. He now built a houſe on the banks of the Thames, at Chelſea, and married a ſecond wife, whoſe name was Middleton; an old, ill-tempered and covetous widow. Yet Eraſmus informs us, he was as fond of her as if ſhe were a young maid.

And here it is requiſite to juſtify this virtuous character from the imputation of a prieſt. Burnet obſerves (in his preface to the Eutopia and Life of More, Oxford, 1751, 12mo. p. x.) that "the earneſtneſs with which he recommends the precaution uſed in marriages among the Eutopians, makes one think that he had a misfortune in his own choice; for the ſtrictneſs of his own life covers him from ſevere cenſures." But the teſtimony of his cotemporary and moſt intimate friend Eraſmus, is ſufficient to prove that in his domeſtic conduct, he was not liable even to the ſlighteſt blame, and to convict the Biſhop, who wrote above a century and a half after him, of error. The true object of the paſſage alluded to, was as Sir

Thomas

Thomas himſelf explains it (part 2. chap. on bondmen, &c.) that a law ſhould be made, " whereby all deceits " might be eſchewed and avoided beforehand," in lieu of being remedied afterwards: becauſe, " the eaſy hopes of " a new marriage break love between man and wife."

But nothing can ſo ſtrongly prove the Biſhop's miſtake, or the worth of Sir Thomas More in his private as well as public character, as the picture of his manners drawn by Eraſmus. " More," ſays he, " has built near London, " and on the Thames, ſuch a commodious houſe as is " neither mean nor ſubject to envy, yet ſufficiently mag- " nificent. There he converſes affably with his wife, his " ſon and daughter-in-law, his three daughters and their " huſbands, with eleven grand-children. No man living " is ſo affectionate to his children as he. He loves his " old wife as well as if ſhe were young; and ſuch is the " excellence of his temper, that whatever happens which " could not be helped, he bears as well as if nothing " more fortunate could have happened. Were you in " that place, you would ſay you beheld Plato's academy. " But I do the houſe an injury to compare it to Plato's " academy, where there were only diſputations on num- " bers and geometrical figures, and ſometimes on the " moral virtues. I ſhould rather call his houſe a ſchool " of Chriſtian religion; for there is no one in it but reads " or ſtudies the liberal ſciences. Their ſpecial care is " piety and virtue. There is no quarrelling or intempe- " rate words heard, no one is ſeen idle. Which houſehold " diſcipline that worthy gentleman doth govern, not by " proud and lofty words, but with kind and courteous

" benevolence. All perform their duty, yet there is always " alacrity; and ſober mirth is not wanting."

Mr. More's talents were now ſo well known, that his correſpondence was deſired by moſt of the learned men of that age. Eraſmus in particular ſeems to have enjoyed the greateſt ſhare in his friendſhip, although at the beginning of their correſpondence they were not perſonally acquainted. Indeed their firſt interview was ſuch as to furniſh a pleaſant anecdote.

Eraſmus coming to England, partly to pay a viſit to More, it was contrived that before they were introduced to each other, they ſhould meet at the Lord Mayor's table; which in thoſe days was conſtantly open to men of learning and eminence. At dinner they fell into an argument, during which Eraſmus, feeling the keenneſs of his antagoniſt's wit, exclaimed with warmth, in Latin: " Thou art More or nobody:" to which the latter replied in the ſame language, " Thou art Eraſmus or the " devil."

With all the talents requiſite for public buſineſs, Sir Thomas was remarkably formed for the ſweets of domeſtic retirement. Thence it was that he became the particular and intimate *friend* of Henry; and thence he grew tired of the Court, and ſlighted the friendſhip of his Majeſty. For the King having once experienced this engaging part of his character, became remarkably fond of his company; and when he had performed his devotions on holidays, he uſed to ſend for Sir Thomas into his cloſet. He there converſed with him on aſtronomy, geometry, divinity and other learned topics, as well as on public buſineſs; and he frequently

quently took him in the night to the leads, on the top of his houſe, to obſerve the motions of the planets. Sir Thomas was indeed ſo cheerful in his diſpoſition, and poſſeſſed ſo copious a fund of humour and pleaſantry, that the King and Queen often ordered him to be ſent for after ſupper, to entertain and amuſe them. But this at length became ſo diſagreeably troubleſome to Sir Thomas, and ſo much interfered with the attention he wiſhed to pay his own family, by making him ſpend almoſt his whole time in the palace, that he began by degrees to lay aſide his facetiouſneſs, and to aſſume an affected air of gravity, as the only means of liberating himſelf from the ſhackles of royal favour.

In 1523, Sir Thomas being made Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, ſhowed an intrepidity then almoſt unprecedented, in oppoſing an impudent miniſter in his unconſtitutional attempt at raiſing ſupplies. The Cardinal, apprehending ſome ill humour on the occaſion, reſolved to be preſent when the motion was made, and gave notice of his intention to the Houſe. Upon this a warm debate aroſe, whether they ſhould receive him with a few of his Lords, or with his whole train. The former of theſe opinions ſeeming to be moſt generally adopted, the Speaker thus addreſſed the Houſe. "Gentlemen," ſaid he, "ſince my Lord "Cardinal hath not long ago laid to our charge, the lightneſs of our tongues for things ſpoken out of this Houſe, "it will not in my judgment be amiſs, to receive him "with all his people. For if he ſhould blame us hereafter for the like fault, he may lay it on thoſe whom "his Grace ſhall bring with him." For Wolſey had been much offended by ſome of the Members divulging the

the tranſactions of the Houſe out of doors; though the Members themſelves thought the People had an undoubted right to know, what their ſervants in the Houſe were doing.

The Houſe being pleaſed with the humour of the Speaker's propoſal, the Cardinal-Miniſter was received accordingly: but having explained, in a ſolemn ſpeech, the neceſſity of granting the object of his demand, and finding none of the Members return any anſwer, or ſhow the leaſt inclination to comply with his requeſt, he fell into a paſſion, and with great indignation, ſaid "Gentlemen, "unleſs it be the manner of the Houſe to expreſs your "ſentiments in ſuch caſes by your Speaker, your ſilence "is certainly ſurpriſing and obſtinate." He then required the Speaker to give an anſwer, to the requeſt which he had made in the name of the King. On which Sir Thomas More, falling on his knees with great reverence to the Cardinal-Miniſter, apologized for the ſilence of the Houſe, as being abaſhed at the preſence of ſo exalted a perſonage. He then proceeded to ſhow, that it was not conſiſtent with the ancient liberties of the Houſe, to give an anſwer to his Majeſty's meſſage, but by their Speaker; and concluded by telling his Eminence, that though he was the voice of the Commons, yet unleſs every one of them could put his judgment into his head, he alone, in a matter of ſo great importance and moment, could not pretend to give a ſuitable anſwer. This reply highly offended Wolſey, who expected nothing elſe of the Commons, than an implicit acquieſcence in every pecuniary demand, his ſagacity invented, or his impudence ſuggeſted. The Commons,

however,

however, having virtue enough to refuſe the regiſtration of the King's decree, for ſuch only could the propoſition be called, the Miniſter ſuddenly quitted the Houſe.

At that period the funding ſyſtem not being known, the Miniſter had a weaker hold, on thoſe who were deſirous of living without labour; nor could he bribe the Members, by making them *partakers* of a uſurious contract.

His diſpleaſure was perhaps the greater, as he knew that Sir Thomas had ſeconded the motion, when firſt propoſed. For though that ſpirited patriot thought ſupplies abſolutely neceſſary for carrying on the war, he made a diſtinction between the reaſonable demands of the King, and the violation of parliamentary privileges, by an inſolent Miniſter. It appears therefore that to Wolſey, there was ſomething perſonal as well as unexpected, in this check.

Sir Thomas being ſome time afterwards in the Cardinal's gallery at Whitehall, his Eminence complained of his behaviour on the above-mentioned occaſion; ſaying "Would to God you had been at Rome when I made "you Speaker." To which Sir Thomas replied, "Your "Grace not offended, I wiſh I had, I ſhould then have "enjoyed the pleaſure of ſeeing a place I have long deſired "to viſit." He then began to praiſe his gallery, and ſaid he liked it better than the other at Hampton Court. But though this appeaſed Wolſey in appearance, it did not cool his reſentment. For when the Parliament broke up, he Perſuaded the King to ſend Sir Thomas on an embaſſy to Spain, from which however that gentleman endeavoured to excuſe himſelf, by pleading ill health. His Majeſty allowed the juſtneſs of his argument, and told him, that

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as he meant not to hurt him but render him ſervice, he would think of ſome other manner of employing his talents: And not long after, on the death of Sir R. Wingfield, Sir Thomas was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter, though that was the King's perſonal patrimony. At the ſame time he was admitted into ſo high a degree of favour with the King, that his Majeſty ſometimes went to his houſe at Chelſea, without previous notice, in order to enjoy the pleaſure of his converſation on common affairs.

On one of theſe occaſions, when the King had paid him an unexpected viſit to dinner, he walked with him afterwards near an hour in the garden, with his arm round Sir Thomas's neck. When his Majeſty was gone, Mr. Roper, a ſon-in-law of Sir Thomas, obſerved how happy he was, to enjoy the favour of his Sovereign in ſo diſtinguiſhed a manner. To which Sir Thomas replied, "I "thank our Lord, ſon Roper, I find his Grace to be my "very good maſter indeed, and I believe that he favours "me as much as any ſubject within this kingdom. But yet "I muſt tell thee, ſon, that I have no cauſe to be proud "of it: for if my head would win him a caſtle in France "(with the King of which country he was then at war) he "would not fail to have it ſtruck off my ſhoulders." A reply, from which it appears, that Sir Thomas well knew his Grace to be a villain.

Of all Henry's ſervants and favourites, none was treated with more kindneſs and reſpect by the King than Sir Thomas More: yet none ſo well preſerved his independence, or was leſs ſolicitous to enjoy the ſmiles of his Sovereign.

vereign. Of this the freedom with which he delivered his opinion, on the unlawfulneſs of his marriage, is a ſtriking inſtance. His anſwer on that occaſion does the higheſt honour to his memory. Clark and Tonſtal, Biſhops of Bath and Durham, and others of the Privy Council being ordered to conſult with the King on that ſubject, Sir Thomas ſaid, "To be plain with your "Grace, neither my Lord of Durham nor my Lord of "Bath nor myſelf nor any of your Privy Council, being "all your ſervants and greatly indebted to your good-"neſs, are in my judgment, proper counſellors for your "Grace on this point. But if you are deſirous of under-"ſtanding the truth, you may have counſellors, who nei-"ther out of regard to worldly intereſt, nor through fear "of your princely authority, will deceive you:" And then naming Jerome, Auſtin, and ſeveral more of the ancient fathers, he produced a ſtatement of the opinions, he had collected from thoſe authorities.

This freedom did not exclude Sir Thomas from the friendſhip even of the ſevere and obſtinate Henry. In 1526 he was ſent with Cardinal Wolſey and others, on a joint embaſſy to France, and in 1529 with Tonſtall, Biſhop of Durham, to negociate at Cambray, a peace between the Emperor, the King of France, and Henry, in which he proved his diplomatic abilities, by procuring greater advantages for England than were expected. For this and other eminent ſervices, the King on the diſgrace of Wolſey in the following year, made him Chancellor;* a favour which

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* On the 25th of October 1530.

appears the more extraordinary, as he had repeatedly declared his disapprobation of the King's divorce, and was not a man likely to change sides for a place.

In this new employment, Sir Thomas still farther confirmed the opinion generally entertained of his abilities integrity and impartiality. This was rendered the more striking by the conduct of his predecessor Wolsey having been haughty and proud; contemptuous to people of ordinary rank, and inaccessible to any, without a bribe to his servants. But the scene was now entirely reversed; for the new Chancellor was affable to all. The poorer and humbler his suitors, the more attentive and ready was Sir Thomas, to hear their causes and give them redress.

It is said that one of his sons-in-law Mr. Dauncey, found fault with him between jest and earnest, for his great condescension, saying "You are so ready to "hear every one, poor as well as rich, that there is no "getting any thing under you. Whereas were you other-"wise, some for friendship, some for kindred, and some "for profit, would gladly have my interest to introduce "them. But now I should do them wrong if I took any "thing." To which the Chancellor replied, there were many ways in which he could do him good, and give pleasure to his friends. "And be assured of this," added he, "upon my faith, if the parties will call for justice "at my hands, then, though my father whom I love so "dearly, stood on one side, and the devil whom I detest, "on the other, were the cause good, the devil should "have it." And he actually made a decree against Mr. Heron, another son-in-law, who presuming on his father's

ther's favour and intereſt, had rejected a propoſal of arbitration. A circumſtance which marks the delicacy of the Chancellor, in not prejudging a cauſe, even where his neareſt connections were concerned.

His integrity became ſtill more conſpicuous after his fall, even by the malice of his enemies. For at their inſtigation, one Parnel accuſed him of receiving a bribe, for making a decree againſt him, and in favour of his antagoniſt Vaughan, who gave him a gold cup. Sir Thomas confeſſed, that as the cup was brought him for a new-year's gift, long after the decree was made, he had not refuſed it. On this Sir Thomas Boleyn, then Lord Wiltſhire, who was the proſecutor, and who hated him for oppoſing the King's marriage with his daughter, cried out with triumphant exultation, "Lo! my Lords, did I not tell you "that you ſhould find the matter true." But Sir Thomas requeſted, that as they had heard with indulgence the firſt part of the tale, they would with equal impartiality attend to the remainder; and declared, "that though after "much ſolicitation, he had indeed received the cup, and "it was long after the decree was made, yet, after drinking the health of Mrs. Vaughan (who herſelf preſented "it to him), he had obliged her, however reluctantly, to "convey it back to her huſband." This was proved by witneſſes, to the great confuſion of Lord Wiltſhire and his other enemies.

On another occaſion, when one Graham ſent him as a new-year's gift, a beautiful gilt cup, the faſhion of which very much pleaſed him, he ordered one of his own, of more value though inferior in elegance, to be delivered

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to the meſſenger for his maſter. Nor would he receive the preſent on any other condition.

With the ſame integrity, when a Mrs. Goaker preſented him with a pair of gloves, containing £.40 in angels, he ſaid, "Miſtreſs, ſince it would be contrary to good "manners not to receive your new-year's gift, I accept "your gloves, but as for the lining, I utterly refuſe it."

Having executed the office of Chancellor with great wiſdom and integrity towards the ſpace of three years, he reſigned the ſeals on the 15th of May 1533, probably to avoid the danger of refuſing to confirm the King's divorce; a ſanction to which tranſaction, it is thought by ſome hiſtorians, notwithſtanding the hopeleſsneſs of the project, was the true object of his appointment to that office: and therefore the permiſſion to reſign was granted with great reluctance.

In that office no man ever acted more to the ſatisfaction of the people. His expedition in determining cauſes was no leſs remarkable than his integrity. For one day when he called for the next cauſe, he was anſwered that there were no more to be heard. Such an event was as rare as the ſhutting of Janus's temple; Sir Thomas ordered it to be entered on the record.

About the time of his reſignation, Sir Thomas loſt his father; to whom he had always behaved, and particularly in his laſt illneſs, with every mark of affection and filial piety. He was even anxious on all occaſions to give him precedence, notwithſtanding his own high rank, which his father as conſtantly refuſed.

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When Sir Thomas reſigned the great ſeal, he wrote an apology; in which he declared, that all the revenues and eſtates he had by his father, with his wife, or by purchaſe, did not amount to £50 per annum: which, notwithſtanding the difference of value in money, and that the difficulty of living has augmented in proportion to the ſtupendous increaſe of inequality in property, muſt ſtrike the reader as a mere bagatelle, when compared with the emoluments of a modern chancellor, or the gratuities for a *week*'s pleading and conſpiring, againſt the life of an honeſt man.

But ſo liberal was this excellent man's charity, and ſo great his chriſtian contempt of riches, that though he had held many important and lucrative offices during a ſpace of more than twenty years, he made no proviſion either for himſelf or his family.

Finding therefore that after his reſignation, the limited ſtate of his finances would not permit him to live in that ſplendor, which his rank had hitherto required, he retired to his houſe at Chelſea, diſmiſſed many of his ſervants, taking care firſt to provide them with places to prevent their being reduced to diſtreſs on his account, ſent his children with their reſpective families, whom he had hitherto maintained in patriarchal ſtile, to their own houſes, and ſpent his time after their removal, in ſtudy and devotion, on an income which at moſt, little exceeded £.100 per ann. He reſolved never more to engage in public buſineſs, but to enjoy in tranquility the ſweets of domeſtic happineſs, if the cruel and fickle tyrant, at whoſe will he held the tenure of his life and all its conveniences, would graciouſly permit, him, whoſe friendſhip he had once culti-

vated, to enjoy the *uncertain* good, in ſolitary and ſcanty obſcurity. For he felt ſome preſages of the coming ſtorm, and knowing the deſpot to be a villain, he expected to be treated with rigor, and prepared himſelf with pious reſignation, to meet the fate he had often foretold would deſtroy him.

The coronation of Ann Boleyn was fixed for the 31ſt of May 1533, a fortnight after the reſignation of the chancellor, to whom a ſucceſſor was appointed on the twentieth day. Sir Thomas More was invited to be preſent at the ceremony: but this he declined, as he had not altered his opinion reſpecting the illegality of queen Catherine's divorce. His ſanction was even deemed of great importance, though reduced to a private ſtation. Yet although various means were uſed to procure it, they all proved equally ineffectual. In the following parliament therefore, a bill was brought into the houſe of lords, attainting him together with Biſhop Fiſher and ſome others, of miſpriſion of treaſon, for encouraging Elizabeth Barton the nun or holy maid of Kent, a pretended propheteſs, in her treaſonable practices. This woman having her reaſon at times diſordered by hyſterics, and then uttering ſtrange ſpeeches, was ſuppoſed to be inſpired; and in conſequence of that reputation, was made an inſtrument by a deſigning vicar, of declaiming againſt the king's divorce, and threatening his counſellors. But Sir Thomas's innocence was ſo apparent, that they were obliged to ſtrike out his name from the bill.

Several other accuſations equally groundleſs, were fabricated with no better ſucceſs. At length the act which

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indirectly gave the ſupremacy to the king, and which paſſed in March 1534, was made the inſtrument of impriſoning Sir Thomas, as ſome acts of the next ſeſſions were of ſacrificing his life. The oath required by that ſtatute, was tendered to Sir Thomas about a month after the bill paſſed, and was refuſed. Upon which, he was firſt put in cuſtody of the Abbot of Weſtminſter, and four days after, on a ſecond refuſal, committed to the Tower.

Sir Thomas was the moſt unlikely man in the world to take this oath. He was bigotted to the religion of his fathers, but his attachment did not ariſe from mere hereditary credulity. For he was a virtuous good man, and by ſuch men religious prejudices are the laſt to be abandoned. As a catholic he muſt have believed, that the very eſſence of a religion which demands a head, admits of no other than the lawful head the pope. Had he profeſſed that ſimple and rational religion which Jeſus taught, he would perhaps have equally refuſed the oath, and aſſerted that no true chriſtian could properly take it, or that the firſt principles of that religion marked ſuch a claim with impoſture. That a king ſhould be the head of a certain incorporated body of men, in black and white dreſſes, calling themſelves the church, and performing *maſonic* rites and futilities in the face of the moſt high God, he might allow. But to take an oath of this, might ſtill appear to him, a ſanction tending to perpetuate a ſyſtem, whoſe object was to deceive and enſlave the people; and no religious man, whether proteſtant, catholic, or true chriſtian, who viewed the ſubject in this light, could voluntarily ſubmit thus to violate his conſcience. To leave Henry in quiet

poſſeſſion of theſe rights, if rights they were, might be prudent, in one who delighted not to contend, with ſuperior force, but every reaſonable man, might at leaſt expect to THINK for himſelf. His conduct therefore is beſt accounted for, by his conſidering the act of parliament on which he was convicted, like many other bills which thoſe tyrants procured, who have made as it were a chaſm in the hiſtory of a free and happy people, as an Act of Parliament to deſtroy the liberty of thought.

Nothing can ſo well illuſtrate the ideas, likely to be entertained by ſo great a luminary of the law, as a recollection of the manner, in which Henry firſt acquired the diſputed title.

Wolſey had been accuſed by the attorney-general, of having violated the ſtatute of proviſors and premunire, by acting as legate under the authority of the Pope, and diſpoſing of ſeveral benefices in that capacity. In conſequence of this conduct, all thoſe who had acknowledged his authority and appeared in his courts, were equally guilty. Thus the whole body of the clergy, by obeying him as legate, had become liable to that ſpecies of outlawry which this ſtatute enacts. The king therefore cunningly obtained the ſanction of the convocation to his divorce, before he availed himſelf of that act to oppreſs and degrade them. His grand but concealed object was to make them acknowledge his ſupremacy. For however prompt that body has ever been to follow the ſpirit of a court, they have ever ſhewn a greater partiality for that of Rome than any other: a partiality which Henry wiſhed to transfer to his own. The indictment was brought

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in the court of king's-bench ; and though it was pleaded that the king had himſelf connived at the cardinal's proceedings, the juſtice of their arguments, did not prevent judgment being given in favor of the tyrant. They were put out of the protection of the law, and ſubjected to all the pains and penalties of præmunire. The clergy, conſcious that the people could not then be excited to revenge their cauſe, and having no hopes of aſſiſtance from the pope who deſpaired of recovering his influence in England, determined to take the oppoſite part, and be reconciled with their oppreſſor. The convocation therefore of Canterbury, came to a reſolution, to offer the king £100,000. for a pardon ; and appointed a committee to draw up an act of convocation, called letters-patent, for that purpoſe. That paper ſtated the motive of the preſent, to be 1ſt. the great merit of the king ; 2d. gratitude for his ſervices to the *Catholic* church, both by his pen and his ſword ; 3d. his zeal againſt the Lutherans, who were labouring to deſtroy the church of England, of which *the clergy acknowledged the king ſole protector and ſupreme head :* and laſtly their hopes of obtaining his pardon.

The clauſe relative to the ſupremacy, was ſurreptitiouſly inſerted by the contrivance of Henry. And when it was objected to as an inadvertent piece of flattery leading to conſequences unforeſeen by the committee, his creatures had the effrontery to aſſert, that it could not be expunged by a formal reſolution, without diſpleaſing the king : an aſſertion confirmed the next day from the court itſelf by Mr. Secretary Cromwell and others of the privy council, who attended the convocation for that purpoſe,

and informed the houſe that the king would conſider thoſe who oppoſed it, as diſaffected ſeditious perſons.

The York convocation gave a ſimilar preſent of £18,000. But having omitted the title conveyed in the other, they were given to underſtand their preſent would not be accepted without it: on which a ſimilar clauſe was inſerted. The ſame creatures of the court alſo contrived, that the firſt mentioned act ſhould contain a promiſe, not to make any *conſtitution* without the king's *licence*; and this alſo was inſerted in that of the York convocation.

The Pope having promiſed to refer Henry's affair to be decided at Cambray, by perſons to whom the king ſhould have no reaſon to object, the Biſhop of Paris who acted as mediator, fixed the day for the return of the courier, in order to put the buſineſs more compleatly in train. But the Emperor's agents were ſo deſirous of creating differences between the Pope and Henry, and intrigued ſo effectually with the former, by threats as well as promiſes, that although he had at firſt replied that his word was paſſed, he was induced to agree that if the courier did not return on the day appointed, he ſhould conſider himſelf liberated from his promiſe. By the ſame intrigues he was prevailed on, to refuſe the delay of ſix days requeſted by the Biſhop of Paris; and to tranſact in one ſingle ſeſſion, what uſually required three conſiſtories. He ordered the king again to receive his wife, and denounced againſt him eccleſiaſtical cenſures in caſe of diſobedience.

This ſentence whether conformable or adverſe to the king's inclination, facilitated the act of Parliament he wiſhed to obtain. The ſtatute which ultimately aboliſhed

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the papal authority and indirectly conferred the ſupremacy, conſiſted of ſeveral articles.* 1ſt. It aboliſhed the annates, a tax conſiſting of the firſt year's revenue of every benefice, the whole of which after each preſentation or tranſlation, was ſent out of the country and paid to the Pope. 2d. That Biſhops ſhould not be preſented by the Pope, but elected by congé d'élire from the crown; and that if the election ſhould not be made within twelve days after the licence, the choice ſhould belong to the king; by which means he was enabled abſolutely to dictate what choice ſhould be made; as it was improbable that the chapter ſhould be unanimous, in oppoſing the will of their ſupreme head.† 3d. Peter-pence, bulls, diſpenſations, and all delegated authorities from Rome, were aboliſhed; and *the Archbiſhop of Canterbury authorized to grant diſpenſations, provided part of the money was paid to the king*: 4th. The king's marriage with Catherine was annulled, notwithſtanding any diſpenſation to the contrary: and far from ſubjecting the act of the people's delegates to the ſanction of their *Sovereign the nation*, it enacted that all the *king's ſubjects* without diſtinction, ſhould ſwear to obſerve and maintain the contents of this act. After which followed a liſt of the marriages to be held as forbidden by the law of God, including that of a brother's widow.

The whole parliament immediately took the oath, and

* It paſſed in March 1534, on the 30th of which month the ſeſſion concluded.

† This has ſince been improved by his Majeſty's recommending a Biſhop, when he gives the congé d'élire.

the king ſent commiſſioners throughout the kingdom, to exact it of all his ſubjects.

The oath for the clergy was to this effect. To be faithful to the king, the queen, their heirs, and ſucceſſors; to acknowledge the king as ſupreme head of the church of England; that the Biſhop of Rome has no more juriſdiction than any other Biſhop whatever; ſincerely to preach doctrines conformable to the ſcriptures; and pray firſt for the king as ſupreme head of the church of England, next for the queen and her iſſue, and then for the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

When the oath was tendered to Sir Thomas, he replied, "That he would blame neither thoſe who had made the act, nor thoſe who had taken the oath; but for his own part, though he was willing to ſwear to the ſucceſſion in a form of his own drawing, yet the oath which was offered was ſo worded, that his conſcience revolted againſt it, and he could not take it with ſafety to his ſoul." He offered however to ſwear to the ſucceſſion in the iſſue of the preſent marriage, becauſe he thought that, within the power of Parliament. Upon which Mr. Secretary Cromwell, who had a ſtrong friendſhip for Sir Thomas, and foreſaw the conſequences of his refuſing the oath in the form required, proteſted, "that he had rather his only ſon ſhould have loſt his head, than that Sir Thomas More ſhould refuſe to ſwear to the ſucceſſion."

Cranmer alſo in a letter to Mr. Secretary Cromwell, earneſtly preſſed him to accept the oath of More and Fiſher, in the form they propoſed. For if they once ſwore to the ſucceſſion, it would quiet the nation; as all other

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perſons would ſubmit to the judgment of thoſe great and reſpectable characters. But this excellent advice was not complied with.

In conſequence of this refuſal, Sir Thomas was committed to the cuſtody of the Abbot of Weſtminſter for four days; during which the king and his council deliberated, what courſe it was beſt to purſue. Several methods were propoſed, but Henry would liſten to none of them; and at laſt Sir Thomas was ſent to the Tower, and indicted on the ſtatutes.

Early in the next ſeſſion of Parliament, which began on the 23d of November in the ſame year 1534, Henry knowing that the people was on his ſide in throwing off the Roman yoke, had ſeveral acts paſſed to compleat the work. The firſt of theſe confirmed the title of ſupreme head of the church of England, which he held as yet only by the ſurreptitious and tyrannical inſertion of it by his creatures in the act of convocation. He purſued indeed nearly the ſame conduct now; for to make a ſhow of not having procured the act himſelf, he ſuggeſted ſeveral ſcruples to his council and to ſome of the Biſhops; but preſently ſuffered himſelf to be convinced, and afterwards, to uſe the expreſſion of Rapin, made good uſe of his new title and prerogatives.

Another act made it treaſon to ſpeak, write, or imagine, any thing againſt the king or queen. A third annulled ſanctuaries in caſes of treaſon. A fourth preſcribed a form for the oath of ſucceſſion. A fifth *gave the annates or firſt year's revenue of benefices, and one tenth of all ſucceeding years, to the king.* A ſixth eſtabliſhed twenty-five ſuffragan biſhops,

Biſhops, or Chorepiſcopi, according to the primitive uſe and phraſeology of the church, one to each dioceſan biſhop. And laſtly the fatal act, condemning Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter* and Sir Thomas More to perpetual impriſonment, and confiſcating all their eſtates, for refuſing the oath preſcribed by an act of the former ſeſſion. The king indeed ſeems to have had a particular hatred to thoſe worthy characters; for though he granted a general pardon, he excepted theſe two, becauſe they were *honeſt men*, and their very exiſtence was incompatible with his tyrannical views.

The perſecution of the tyrant was ſo malignant, that he not only employed the agency of crown-lawyers, but it even appears that he had given inſtructions, concerning the manner in which Sir Thomas was to be treated, during his confinement. For the lieutenant of the Tower, having formerly received ſome obligations from More, apologized, that he could not accommodate him as he wiſhed, without incurring the king's diſpleaſure. To which the latter replied, "Maſter lieutenant, whenever I find fault with "the entertainment you provide for me, do you turn me out "of doors." And it alſo appears that he was denied the uſe of pen ink and paper. For he wrote with a coal, a very few lines to his favourite daughter Mrs. Roper, and mentioned at the end of it his want of paper to write more. This and ſeveral ſamples of Sir Thomas's talent for poetry,

* The lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, and ſome other lords, ſat with the judges by a commiſſion of oyer and terminer, on the trial of Fiſher, whoſe death was ſuppoſed to be haſtened by the Pope's ſending him a Cardinal's hat, and diſtinguiſhing him by the title of Cardinal of Cardinals.

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may be ſeen in Johnſon's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Language, prefixed to the folio edition of his Dictionary.

While in confinement, the ſolicitor-general, Rich, was ſent to confer, or rather to tamper with him. But though he was very cautious in his replies, he was inveigled to ſay ſomething, which as frequently happens in crown indictments, was wreſted into an aſſertion, that any queſtion with regard to law, which eſtabliſhed that prerogative, was like a two-edged ſword: if a man anſwered in one manner it would confound his ſoul, if in another it would deſtroy his body. This expreſſion was ſufficient for a *ſolicitor-general* to found an accuſation, and Sir Thomas after fifteen months impriſonment, was arraigned and tried at the bar of the king's-bench, for high treaſon.

The charges contained in the indictment were theſe: 1ſt. That the priſoner had ſtubbornly oppoſed the king's ſecond marriage. 2d. That he maliciouſly refuſed to declare his opinion of the act of ſupremacy. 3d. That he endeavoured to evade the force of that ſtatute, and adviſed Biſhop Fiſher by his letters, not to ſubmit to it: And 4th. that on his examination in the Tower, it being demanded whether he approved the act of ſupremacy, he anſwered as above. And theſe were laid as overt-acts of the treaſon of his heart.*

When the attorney general had gone through the charge, which he did in the moſt virulent manner, the Lord Chancellor ſaid, "You ſee now how grievouſly you have offend-"ed his majeſty: nevertheleſs he is ſo merciful, that if you "will but leave your obſtinacy and change your opinion,

* See Salmon's Critical Review of the State Trials.

"we

" we hope you may yet obtain pardon of his highneſs for " what is paſt." And in this ſentiment he was ſeconded by the duke of Norfolk, who was More's particular friend. But Sir Thomas replied with much firmneſs, " That he had much cauſe to thank theſe noble lords for this courteſy, but he beſought Almighty God, that t' rough his grace he might continue in the mind in which he then was, unto death." After this he proceeded to his defence.

Sir Thomas did not deny the two firſt charges of this indictment. He allowed that he had adviſed the king againſt his ſecond marriage, and that he had declined giving his opinion on the act of ſupremacy. The third was reſted on his letters to Biſhop Fiſher; but theſe letters were not produced. And the fourth had no other ſupport, than the evidence of the ſolicitor-general; a teſtimony, of which Sir Thomas entirely diſcredited the validity.

That worthy and innocent man continued his defence, ſaying that he had no malice or treaſon in his heart, when he adviſed the king againſt his ſecond marriage; but gave his opinion when commanded by his majeſty, according to his conſcience, and his duty; and therefore had he refuſed to comply with his requeſt, his majeſty might then have juſtly reſented it. As to the ſecond charge, he thought ſilence was no ſign of the malice of his heart; for according to the civilians, he who held his peace ſeemed to conſent. And he declared at the ſame time, he had never caſt any reflection on the ſtatute, in the preſence of any man. With regard to the third charge, that of maliciouſly adviſing Fiſher not to comply with the act, he de-

ſired

ſired that his letters which were ſaid to prove it, might be produced: for he was confident they would acquit him, of having given ſuch advice. And as to the fourth article, the words were no reflection on the act, even had he ſpoken them; whereas he had ſaid nothing of that tendency. He objected to the evidence of the ſolicitor, on whoſe teſtimony he was charged with them, and appealed to the memory of the lords who were preſent at the conference, and who all immediately declared, *that they heard no ſuch words.*

The principal evidence for the crown, was Mr. Rich, the ſolicitor general; who depoſed that when he went to the Tower, for Sir Thomas's books and papers, he had a converſation with him, in which having *himſelf* confeſſed, that no parliament could make a law, that God ſhould not be God, Sir Thomas replied, "No more "can the parliament make the king ſupreme head of the "church." To this charge Sir Thomas anſwered, "If I "were a man my lords that did not regard an oath, I need-"ed not at this time and in this place, as it is well known "to you all, to ſtand as an accuſed perſon. And if this oath, "Mr. Rich, which you have taken, be true, then I pray "that I may never ſee God in the face; which I would "not ſay were it otherwiſe, to gain the whole world." Upon which the ſolicitor being unable to prove his teſtimony by other witneſſes, though he attempted it, that allegation was dropped.

In thoſe days of ignorance, trial by jury was in crown indictments, a mere formality; requiſite only to exonerate a bloody tyrant, from the odium of murdering his friend.

"For

" For the jury" fays Salmon, " was ſo managed, that " within a quarter of an hour after they were gone out, " they returned with a verdict, *that the priſoner was* " GUILTY *of high treaſon.*"

They had no ſooner brought in this verdict, than the Lord Chancellor Audley began to pronounce the ſentence. But Sir Thomas ſtopped him, and ſaid " My lord, when I " was towards the law, the manner in ſuch caſes was to aſk " the priſoner before ſentence, whether he could give any " reaſon why judgment ſhould not proceed againſt him." Upon this the chancellor aſked, what he was able to alledge. It appears that he objected in his anſwer to the validity of the indictment. For whether his reaſons were unanſwerable, or the chancellor only feared, by taking the condemnation on himſelf, to excite the popular indignation, he turned to the lord chief juſtice, and aſked him aloud his opinion on its validity. The chief juſtice, whoſe name was Fitz-james, anſwered, " My lords all, by St. Gillian " I muſt needs confeſs, that if the act of parliament be not " unlawful, then in my conſcience the indictment is not in- " ſufficient." For it is ſaid, that Sir Thomas had alſo objected in arreſt of judgment, that an act of parliament could not give the king the ſupremacy of a church, of which England was only a part: a ſupremacy which he ſaid none but heaven could confer. Immediately on the Lord Chief Juſtice having delivered his opinion, the Lord Chancellor ſaid, " Lo, my Lords, do you hear what my Lord Chief " Juſtice ſaith;" and without waiting for any reply, proceeded to paſs ſentence, in terms too horrid to be preſented to the civilized reader, and which on account of the high

office

office he had borne, were afterwards changed into ſimple decollation, except the expoſition of his head on London Bridge.

The court as ſoon as ſentence was pronounced, informing Sir Thomas, that if he had any thing further to ſay, they were ready to hear him, he addreſſed them in theſe words. " I have nothing further to ſay my lords, but " that like as the bleſſed apoſtle Paul, was preſent and " conſented to the death of Stephen, and kept their clothes " who ſtoned him to death, and yet be they now both twain " holy ſaints in heaven, and ſhall continue there friends for " ever, ſo I verily truſt, and ſhall therefore right heartily " pray, that though your lordſhips have now been judges " on earth to my condemnation, we may yet hereafter all " meet together in heaven, to our everlaſting ſalvation. And " ſo I pray God preſerve you all, and eſpecially my ſove- " reign lord the king, and ſend him faithful counſellors."

Having thus nobly taken leave of the court, he was conducted from the bar to the Tower by water, with the axe carried before him, as was uſual after condemnation. But when he came to the Tower wharf, his favorite daughter Mrs. Margaret Roper, thinking this would be the laſt opportunity, was waiting to ſee him. As ſoon as he appeared, ſhe burſt through the crowd and guard which ſurrounded him, and having received his bleſſing on her knees, ſhe embraced him eagerly with a flood of tears, and a thouſand kiſſes of tenderneſs and affection: and her heart being almoſt ready to break, ſhe could only ſob out, " My father, oh my father!" But even this affecting ſcene did not overpower his fortitude. He took her in his arms,

and

and told her "That whatever he ſhould ſuffer, though he was innocent, yet it was not without the will of God, to whoſe bleſſed pleaſure ſhe ſhould conform her own: That ſhe knew well enough all the ſecrets of his heart; and that ſhe muſt be patient for her loſs." But ſcarcely had ſhe left him, before her paſſion of grief and love, again irreſiſtibly impelled her to preſs through the crowd, and eagerly to throw her arms once more around his neck, and hang upon him with her embraces, ready to die with ſorrow. This was too much; and though he did not ſpeak a word, yet the tears flowed down his manly cheeks, till ſhe took a laſt embrace and left him.

After a few days, one of the king's creatures made him a viſit, in order to prevail on him yet to comply with his maſter's deſire and change his mind. Sir Thomas at length got rid of his repeated importunities by one of thoſe pleaſantries, which marked his character to the laſt. "I *have* changed it" ſaid he. Theſe words the courtier carried with great exultation to the king, who would ſcarcely believe what he heard. In this it afterwards appeared that Henry was right. For Sir Thomas on being urged to repeat his recantation, anſwered with a ſmile that he had no otherwiſe changed his mind, than "whereas he had intended to be ſhaved, in order to appear to the people as he was wont to do before his impriſonment, he was now fully reſolved, his beard ſhould ſhare the ſame fate with his head."

With the ſame eaſy facetiouſneſs, when he was informed of the king's mercy and pardon as it was inſolently called, in commuting his ſentence, he ſaid "God forbid the "king

" king ſhould uſe any more ſuch mercy to any of my " friends, and God preſerve my poſterity from ſuch par- " dons."

On the 5th of July 1535, about a month after the trial, Mr. Pope (afterwards Sir Thomas) who was More's particular friend, was ſent by the king very early in the morning, to acquaint him that he ſhould be executed that day at nine o'clock; and therefore that he muſt immediately prepare for death. If the king thought to intimidate him into compliance by ſo ſhort a notice, he loſt his object; for Sir Thomas More ſaid, " I moſt heartily " thank you for your good tidings. I have been much " bound to the king's highneſs for the benefit of his honors, " that he has moſt bountifully beſtowed on me; yet I am " more bound to his grace, I do aſſure you, for putting " me here, where I have had convenient time and ſpace, " to have remembrance of my end. And, ſo help me God, " moſt of all I am bound unto him, that it hath pleaſed " his majeſty ſo ſhortly to rid me out of the miſeries of " this wretched world." His friend then informed him that his majeſty's pleaſure further was, that he ſhould not uſe many words at his execution. To which Sir Thomas replied, " You do well Mr. Pope to give me " warning of the king's pleaſure herein, for otherwiſe I " had propoſed at that time to have ſpoken ſomewhat, " but nothing wherewith his grace or any others ſhould " have cauſe to be offended. Howbeit whatſoever I in- " tended, I am ready to conform myſelf obediently to his " highneſs's command. And I beſeech you good Mr. " Pope, to be a means to his majeſty that my daughter

" Margaret may be at my burial." Mr. Pope now took leave of his friend, with many tears and much commiſeration: but Sir Thomas deſired him to be comforted with the proſpect of eternal bliſs, in which they ſhould live and love together. And to ſhew the eaſe and quietneſs of his own mind, he took his urinal, and caſting his water as it is called, ſaid " I ſee no danger but that this man might " live longer, if it had pleaſed the king."

As ſoon as Mr. Pope had left him, he dreſſed himſelf in the beſt cloaths he had, that his appearance might expreſs the eaſe and complacency which he felt within. But the lieutenant of the Tower objecting to this generoſity, as the executioner was to have his cloaths, Sir Thomas aſſured him that " were it cloth of gold, he ſhould think it well beſtowed, on him who was to do him ſo ſingular a benefit." The lieutenant however preſſed him very much to change his dreſs, and as he was a friend, and Sir Thomas unwilling to refuſe ſo trifling a gratification, he put on a gown of frize, and of the little money he had left, ſent an angel to the executioner, as a token of good will.

And now the fatal hour was come, and Sir Thomas was about nine o'clock brought out from the Tower for execution. His beard which he had always been accuſtomed to ſhave was then long, his countenance pale, and, ſtill a bigot to a ſuperſtitious religion, he carried in his hands a red croſs, caſting his eyes every now and then towards heaven.

On his way to the place of execution, on Tower-hill, a woman ſuppoſed to be ſuborned by his adverſaries to diſgrace him, followed, and called out that he had done her

her a great injury when Lord Chancellor, by paſſing an unjuſt decree againſt her. But he anſwered that he remembered her cauſe very well, and that were he again to give ſentence, he would confirm what he had done.

Another woman met him with a cup of wine; but he refuſed it, ſaying, "that Chriſt at his paſſion, did not "drink wine, but gaul and vinegar."

When brought to the ſcaffold, it appeared ſo weak as not to be capable of ſuſtaining his weight. When, in his uſual facetious way, which he retained to the laſt, he ſaid to the lieutenant of the Tower who attended him, "Pray "Sir aſſiſt me to get up: as for my coming down, let me "ſhift for myſelf." Then he kneeled down, and repeated the *miſerere* pſalm, with great fervor and devotion; and riſing up with undaunted firmneſs, he kiſſed the executioner who had begged his forgiveneſs, and ſaid "this "day you will do me a greater ſervice than ever any "man did. Pull up your ſpirits, and be not afraid to do "your duty. Take heed therefore not to miſs your ſtroke, "leſt you loſe your credit." For his neck was very ſhort. When the executioner offered to cover his eyes, he ſaid "I will cover them myſelf;" which he immediately did, with a cloth he had brought for that purpoſe. Then laying his head on the block, he bid the executioner ſtay till he had put aſide his beard; "for that" ſaid he, "never "was guilty of treaſon."

Thus periſhed ſoon after the meridian of a virtuous life, the favorite companion and confidential adviſer of a king. Thus fatally poiſonous was the illuſive favor of a tyrant.

" It is not eaſy," ſays Salmon in his remarks on the trial, " to conceive what there was in the charge, even " had it been all proved, that could amount to high trea- " ſon, or even to a miſdemeanor ; unleſs it be criminal, " not to think always as the king thinks. Very precа- " rious was the life of a ſubject in this reign. Whatever " the court was pleaſed to denominate treaſon, was ad- " judged treaſon ; and whoever the miniſtry thought fit " to accuſe was found guilty. No jury or court of juſ- " tice dared refuſe to convict, any man the king inti- " mated he would have condemned to death ; and par- " liament only met to execute the king's decrees. We " may therefore look upon this reign of Henry VIII. as " the moſt tyrannical, arbitrary, and cruel, that is to be " met with in our annals. From this perſecution of Sir " Thomas More it appears, that neither virtue, parts, " learning, or even innocence, were any protection. This " great man's ſteady and perſevering virtue, was a re- " proach to the tyrant, who ſeemed determined to ſuffer " no man to live, that would not fall down and worſhip " him, and change his creed as often as himſelf ſhould " alter his mind."

The body of Sir Thomas More was interred, firſt in the chapel of St. Peter ad vincula in the Tower, and afterwards by his daughter Margaret's intervention in Chelſea church ; where a monument with an inſcription written by himſelf, had been erected ſome time before, and is ſtill extant. She alſo procured his head after fourteen days expoſition, although it was to have been thrown into the Thames,

Thames, to make room for other victims to the cruelty of her father's murderer. For this she was summoned before the privy council, where she behaved with the greatest firmness, and justified her conduct on principles of humanity and filial piety. Notwithstanding this, she was absurdly and wickedly committed to prison, though only for a short time. At the death of this lady, the head of Sir Thomas, which she had preserved with religious veneration in a box of lead, was committed with her own body to the grave, at St. Dunstan's in Canterbury; and was seen standing on her coffin so late as the year 1715, when the vault of the Roper family into which she had married, was opened.

Sir Thomas was of a middle stature, and extremely well proportioned. His complexion was fair, with a light tincture of red, and the colour of his hair was a dark chesnut. He had grey eyes, and a thin beard. His countenance was the true index of his mind, always cheerful and pleasant, composed by habit into an agreeable smile, seemingly calculated for innocent mirth and festivity, rather than gravity or dignity. In walking, his right shoulder appeared higher than the other, but this proceeded from habit and not from defect.

In his dress he was generally very plain; but when the dignity of his office required it, he conformed to custom. His constitution was generally healthy; but towards the latter part of his life he was incommoded with a pain in his breast, and experienced some decay of strength. And this was the pretext, on which he resigned the office of Chancellor.

It is univerſally allowed, that Sir Thomas was admirably ſkilled in every branch of polite literature; and as Biſhop Burnet ſays, he was eſteemed one of the greateſt prodigies of wit and learning, that England had ever produced: while for juſtice, contempt of money, humility, and true generoſity of mind, he was an example to the age in which he lived.

There is however one blemiſh and only one, in the character of More, which every lover of humanity muſt lament. I mean his adopting the ſuperſtitious and tyrannical idea of forcing men into his own way of *thinking*, and his perſecuting even to cruelty thoſe who appeared guilty of oppoſing what he conceived to be the true religion. For when we compare the character of that age (certainly more regious than ours) with the preſent enlightened period, and ſee the equal right of thinking violated by a man of otherwiſe unblemiſhed virtue, we muſt ſurely perceive, how much we miſtake the character of that idol we adore and honor under the name of religion. For if there ever exiſted a religious man, More was certainly one. He built a ſummer-houſe, library, and chapel, at ſome diſtance from his manſion, whither beſides a kind of morning and evening ſervice performed with his family in the houſe, he uſed frequently to retire even from them; and on Friday ſpent the whole day there. He alſo wrote ſeveral books in a very virulent ſtile, in defence of the Romiſh faith, and in oppoſition to the new church ſyſtem. And theſe works were ſo grateful to the Engliſh clergy, that judging by *their own feelings* that money was the only object with Sir Thomas, they unanimouſly voted him in full convocation,

cation, a preſent of four or five thouſand pounds,* raiſed by a general contribution; with which three Biſhops were deputed to wait upon him. But he replied, "It is no "ſmall comfort to me, that ſuch wiſe and learned men "ſo well accepted of my works, but I never will receive "any reward for them but at the hand of God." Upon this the Biſhops aſked leave to preſent the money to his family: but he anſwered, "Not ſo indeed my lords. I had "rather ſee it caſt into the Thames, than that I, or any "of mine ſhould have any of it. For though your lord-"ſhips' offer is very friendly and honorable to me, yet I "ſet ſo much by my pleaſure, and ſo little by my profit, "that in good faith I would not for a much larger ſum, "have loſt the reſt of ſo many nights as were ſpent on "theſe writings. And yet I wiſh, upon condition that all "hereſies were ſuppreſſed, that all my books were burnt "and my labor entirely loſt." This anſwer ſurpriſed the Biſhops. They withdrew however with apparent reluctance, and reſtored the money to the ſubſcribers.

The praiſe of ſuch a body declines however in value in proportion to the improvement of reaſon. "Sir "Thomas as Burnet very truly remarks was a very prieſt "in matters of religion." For if we rely on that writer's authority, like a prieſt he wrote, and like a prieſt he perſecuted. "Few inquiſitors ſays Hume, have been guilty of greater violence in their proſecution of hereſy. Though adorned with the gentleſt manners as well as the pureſt integrity, he carried to the utmoſt height his averſion to he-

* Equal to 30,000l. at this day.

terodoxy. And James Bainham in particular, a gentleman of the Temple, experienced from him the greateſt ſeverity. Bainham, accuſed of favoring the new opinions, was carried to More's houſe, and having refuſed to diſcover his accomplices, the chancellor, "by an act of authority" ordered him to be whipped in his preſence, and afterwards ſent him to the Tower, where he himſelf ſaw him put to the torture. The unhappy gentleman overcome by all theſe ſeverities, abjured his opinions: but feeling afterwards the deepeſt compunction for his apoſtacy, openly returned to his former tenets, and even courted the crown of martyrdom. He was therefore condemned as an obſtinate and relapſed heretic, and was burned in Smithfield."

The ſpirit of the times was ſuch, as Mr. Hume proceeds to inform us, that "many were brought into the "Biſhops courts for offences which appear trivial, but "which were regarded as ſymbols of the party: ſome for "teaching their children the Lord's prayer in Engliſh, "others for reading the New Teſtament in that language "or for ſpeaking againſt pilgrimages. To harbour the "perſecuted preachers, to neglect the faſts of the church, "to declaim againſt the vices of the clergy, were capital "offences."

The account given by Rapin of Sir Thomas's conduct in this reſpect is *in ſubſtance* as follows:

After Wolſey's diſgrace, Sir Thomas More being made chancellor, perſuaded the king that what moſt injured him at the court of Rome, was a report of his favouring the ſupporters of the new opinions; and that the only way to remove this prejudice, was to demonſtrate his zeal for

for the church. Henry therefore agreed to order the laws againſt heretics and their books to be rigorouſly executed. And ſeveral copies of Tindal's tranſlation of the Bible, the importation of which and of all other heretical books was very ſtrictly prohibited, having been diſcovered by the Biſhop of London, he had them publicly burnt by the hangman: from which, it appears, many people inferred, that the ſcriptures were contrary to the religion generally profeſſed.*

"While More was chancellor" ſays Rapin, "he ſpared no pains utterly to deſtroy thoſe who embraced the Reformation. But at length the king finding it his intereſt to keep fair with the German Proteſtants, put a ſtop to More's perſecution." An expreſſion which confirms the otherwiſe ſuſpicious account of Burnet.

Sir Thomas indeed had condemned this conduct before he was himſelf in power. For he ſays in his Eutopia, "that this people allows liberty of conſcience, and does not force their religion on any one; that they do not prevent a ſober inquiry into truth, nor uſe any violence on account of a difference of belief."

Thus has religion always had for its *principal* object to retard the progreſs of reaſon; for it has always been em-

* It is pleaſant to obſerve, how much the Biſhop contributed in various ways to ſtrengthen the very cauſe he oppoſed, by ordering all the remaining copies of that work from Antwerp, and having them burnt in Cheapſide. This was the occaſion of a new edition being printed the next year, when the publiſher's friend and ſupporter Conſtantine, on being aſked by the Chancellor what was the cauſe of ſo rapid a ſale, anſwered that the Biſhop of London occaſioned it, by having bought up the laſt half of the former impreſſion.

ployed

ployed to ſuppreſs *new opinions* and ſupport the *old*. A mode of action of which reaſon, progreſſive reaſon, is directly the reverſe.

The expreſſions indeed of the hiſtorians of thoſe times are exceedingly remarkable. They ſeem to write as if they were ſpeaking of the preſent period ; but their language is equally applicable to any other point in the hiſtory of the world, from the days of Anaxagoras or Socrates, down to the once new morality of Jeſus Chriſt : from the days of Copernicus, the perſecuted reviver of Plato's opinion concerning the rotundity of the earth and the exiſtence of Antipodes, to the new but Chriſtian, the Gallic but once Britiſh doctrine, of equal rights.

Were any one to write a hiſtory of the progreſs of philoſophy or of the advancement of the rational faculty, he would do little more than relate a long ſeries of ſimilar conteſts, between the *new* and the *old opinions*, between the light of reaſon and philanthropy and the darkneſs of ſuperſtition and ſlavery.

The facts we have juſt recorded are ſuch as it is unpleaſant to relate, particularly of a man whom every one takes a pleaſure to love ; a man whoſe life we can ſcarcely peruſe, without contracting as it were a perſonal friendſhip and acquaintance, with that amiable patriot and friend of mankind. But as ſuch characters as that of Sir Thomas More are rare, ſo theſe blemiſhes can produce no other feelings in the philanthropic breaſt, than an abſolute conviction accompanied with deep regret, that religion when ſupported by the ſtate, does really lead to conſequences, clearly and decidedly immoral ;—perhaps it does

does ſo in the direct proportion of the general innocence and virtuous tenor of the character. It corrupts the heart and eſtranges man from his brother. ××

Were this fact diſputed, we might in a certainpoint of view aſſert, that we have an inſtance on record, of an almoſt perfect character contaminated and rendered immoral, nay even criminal, by that principle of ſuperſtition, which we are too apt to honor with the name of religion. And Sir Thomas More though he might be ſaid

"*Nil conſcire ſibi, nullâ palleſcere culpâ,**"

would by no means appear

"*Integer vitæ, ſcelerisque purus.*†"

But peace to his manes; for he fell a victim to that very ſpirit, which conſtituted the only fault, that even his enemies can attribute to his excellent heart.

Another perhaps equally ill founded accuſation againſt him, is that he affected ſingularity: but this ſeems to be only the envious cavilling, of thoſe who did not equal him in the ſingularity of his virtue, or who had not the ſame taſte for domeſtic retirement, and the ſame attachment to the remote branches of their family.

The facetious turn of his mind was cenſured by Lord Herbert, and even by Eraſmus; who calls him another Democritus. Mr. Addiſon however wrote his apology, and very juſtly aſſerted, that More's facetiouſneſs continuing to the laſt moment of his life, was a proof of his perfect innocence. "He ſaw nothing in death," ſays that writer, "to put him out of his ordinary humor."

This may be rendered,

* To know no inward pang of conſcious blame.

† Of ſpotleſs life, and pure unſullied fame.

×× Sr. T. More's Religion was not that of the State Ca Herb. –

Theſe

Theſe objections to an innocent turn of mind, bring to my recollection the reply of a lady with whom I had the happineſs to be acquainted, and who retained her uſual equanimity and pleaſantneſs, even when her huſband's misfortunes had deprived her of every ſupport, but that of good ſpirits. This reſpectable but unfortunate lady, in anſwer to the cavils of thoſe, who diſapproved her not aſſuming an artificial weak dejection of countenance, ſaid it was very hard, when ſhe had loſt all without any fault of her own, that they ſhould wiſh alſo to deprive her of that internal conſolation.

Indeed Sir Thomas beſt made his own apology, by turning the charge into good-natured ridicule, when he ſays in his letter to Peter Giles, "Some are ſo ſour, they "can allow no jeſts, and are as much afraid of any "thing gay and lively, as a man bit with a mad dog is "of water."

An anſwer perhaps ſtill more in point, may be taken from the laſt chapter of the Eutopia, (page 124) where the author ſpeaks of death. "They believe certainly "and ſurely," ſays he, "that man's bliſs ſhall be ſo "great, that they do mourn every man's ſickneſs, but "no man's death; unleſs it be one whom they ſee de-"part from his life, carefully and againſt his will. For "this they take for a very evil token, as if the ſoul being in "deſpair, and vexed in conſcience through ſome privy and "ſecret forefeeling of the puniſhment now at hand, were "afraid to depart.—They therefore that ſee this kind of "death, do *abhor it*, and them that ſo die, they bury with ſor-"row and ſilence.—Contrariwiſe all they that depart mer-

"rily

" rily and full of good hope, for them no man mourneth,
" but followeth the hearſe with joyful ſinging.—When they
" be come home, they rehearſe his virtuous manners and his
" good deeds ; but no part of his life is ſo oft or ſo gladly
" talked of, as his merry death."

Sir Thomas it ſeems was alſo a patron of the polite arts. For Hans Holbein being recommended to him by a letter from Eraſmus, during his chancellorſhip, Sir Thomas received him at his houſe, and entertained him till he had painted all his family ; and then taking occaſion to ſhew his pieces to the king, Henry was ſo ſtruck with their execution, that he aſked Sir Thomas if ſuch an artiſt was alive, and could be procured for money. Upon which Holbein was introduced to his Majeſty, and immediately taken into the king's ſervice, till he died of the plague in 1554.

The talents and virtues of Sir Thomas More, procured him not only the treacherous attentions and perfidious favour of a king, but what is of infinitely more real and permanent value, the heartfelt eſteem and friendſhip, of the greateſt luminaries of learning among his cotemporaries ; and particularly that of the immortal Eraſmus.

Sir Thomas had by his firſt wife three daughters and one ſon, who all ſurvived him. The three daughters coming firſt, and his wife being very deſirous of a boy, ſhe had one at laſt, who was almoſt an idiot. Upon which Sir Thomas ſaid, " ſhe had prayed ſo long for a boy,
" that ſhe had now one who would continue a boy as long
" as he lived." He gave him however all the advantages of a liberal education, by which his natural abilities were

were greatly improved. After the death of his father, he alſo was committed to the Tower, and condemned, for refuſing the ſame oath of ſupremacy. But though he was afterwards pardoned and reſtored to liberty, he did not long ſurvive the period of his impriſonment.

The amiable character of his eldeſt daughter Margaret, is happily drawn both by Addiſon and Walpole; and ſome account of her life has been given by Ballard in his Memoirs of Learned Ladies. At the age of twenty ſhe married William Roper Eſq. of Well-hall in Kent, whoſe life of Sir Thomas More was publiſhed by Mr. Hearne at Oxford in 1716. This marriage gave infinite ſatisfaction to Sir Thomas, of whoſe parental affection Mrs. Roper ſeems to have been the deareſt object: a preference which is evinced by the whole tenor of their hiſtory, and was more particularly marked in his letters to his daughter. In an age when the graces of the mind were regarded as an eſſential object in female education, ſhe was moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed by her learning, and particularly by her knowledge of Latin and Greek: but the beauty and force of her filial piety, reflects even a ſuperior luſtre on this accompliſhed woman. There is more than one paſſage in her life ſays Mr. Hayley, in the notes on his epiſtle to a painter, which would furniſh an admirable ſubject for the pencil; and her interview with her father on his return to the Tower, is mentioned as ſuch by Mr. Walpole in his Anecdotes of painting: where he mentions the remains of the family of More, as then reſiding at Barnborough in Yorkſhire. But the muſe of Hayly has choſen a different ſcene: and

with

with the licence which as Horace ſays is allowed to both the ſiſter arts, has introduced into the preſence of the council, that head whoſe dictates it had once ſo much reſpected.

Shall Roman charity for ever ſhare,
Thro' every various ſchool each painter's care,
And Britain ſtill her bright examples hide,
Of female glory and of filial pride?
Inſtruct our eyes, my Romney, to adore,
Th' heroic daughter of the virtuous More:
Reſolved to ſave, or in the attempt expire,
The precious relicks of her martyr'd ſire,
Before the cruel council let her ſtand,
Preſs the dear ghaſtly head with pitying hand,
And plead, while bigotry itſelf grows mild,
The ſacred duties of a grateful child.

The life of Sir Thomas More and his reverſe of fortune, have alſo been choſen as a ſubject for a tragedy, by the elegant pen of Mr. James Hurdis, Profeſſor of Poetry at Oxford; where although more events are concentrated within the ſpace of a day, than probability will readily admit, this licence of the poet has enabled him conſiderably to heighten the cataſtrophe of his play.

Sir Thomas was the author of various works, of which the firſt volume of the Athenæ Oxonienſes contains a catalogue. But his Eutopia (de optimo reipublicæ ſtatu dequa nova Inſula Utopia &c.) is the only work which has ſurvived in the eſteem of the world; the reſt being chiefly of a polemic nature. His anſwer to Luther has only gained him the credit, of having the beſt knack of any man in Europe, of giving men bad names in good Latin. His Engliſh works were collected and publiſhed by order

of

of Queen Mary, in 1557, his Latin at Baſil in 1562 and at Louvain in 1566.*

Note on the office of Chancellor, referring to page xvi.

It is a fact not ſufficiently attended to by hiſtorians, that throughout that ſyſtem of political ſuperſtition which preceded the reformation, and which like every other connection between church and ſtate, is too often confounded with true chriſtianity, the office of chancellor was in a great meaſure monopolized by the church, and uſually given to a cardinal or biſhop. Fortunately it was among the leſſer changes of that revolution, that the church was no longer to hold an undivided ſway, and dictate in a branch of our juriſprudence, which doubtleſs through ſuperſtitious motives, was moſt free from the reſtraint of precedent, or the troubleſome preciſion of the common law courts.

This change however is to be attributed to the ſame ſelfiſh motives, as all the others that produced what is called the reformation. For Sir Thomas More was promoted to this high office, not becauſe he was a layman or an honeſt man, but becauſe the king expected his aſſiſtance in his own anti-eccleſiaſtical matrimonial views. Whether the union of church and law like that of church and ſtate, gave riſe to the glorious uncertainty, or the lucrative delay of that tedious court, may be diſputed:

* *Authorities:*---Roper's life of More in the Brit. Muſeum, Harleian MSS. No. 70, 30. Hoddeſdon's life of More. Dr. Warner's ditto, Biog. Britan. Jortin's life of Etaſmus. Burnet's hiſt. of the Reformation. Burnet's life of More. Salmon's review of ſtate trials. Rapin, Hume, Herbert. Johnſon's hiſt. of the Engliſh language, prefixed to his dictionary. Ballard's mem. of learned ladies.

but

but the right and title of the chancellor to be keeper of the king's conſcience, as he ſtill continues in virtue of his office, clearly takes its ſource in that union, and would confirm the credibility of theſe facts, even without further hiſtorical inveſtigation.

But on ſo intereſting a ſubject, we ought not to ſatisfy ourſelves, without conſulting the moſt indiſputable authorities.

Sir William Blackſtone obſerves, from Sir Edward Coke's Inſtitutes,* that the Lord Chancellor is ſo named *a cancellendo*, from cancelling the king's letters patent when granted contrary to law, which is the higheſt point of his juriſdiction. But diſtruſting it ſhould ſeem, the etymon he had juſt adduced, he proceeds to inform us, that both "the office and name of Chancellor, however derived, was certainly known to the courts of the Roman Emperors; where it ſeems originally to have ſignified a chief ſcribe or ſecretary, who was afterwards inveſted with ſeveral judicial powers, and a general ſuperintendence over the other officers of the prince. From the Roman Empire it paſſed to the Roman Church, ever emulous of imperial ſtate. Thus every Biſhop has to this day his chancellor, the principal judge of his conſiſtory; and among the modern kingdoms of Europe eſtabliſhed on the ruins of that empire, almoſt every ſtate has preſerved its chancellor, with different juriſdictions and dignities according to their various conſtitutions."†

The comprehenſive and almoſt abſolute authority and juriſdiction of the Chancellor, appear from the ſame wri-

* Inſt. vol. IV. p. 88. † Comment. vol. III. c. 4.

ter's deſcription of his office; where it is obſervable, that "he has the ſuperviſion of all charters and public inſtruments of the crown. He becomes alſo, without writ or patent," (i. e. by the mere delivery of the ſeals) "an officer of the greateſt weight and power of any now ſubſiſting in the kingdom, and ſuperior in point of precedency to every temporal lord.* He is a privy counſellor by his office, and according to Lord Chancellor Elleſmere, prolocutor of the Houſe of Lords by preſcription. To him belongs the appointment of all juſtices of the peace," (another branch of the ancient ſyſtem of arbitrary power) "throughout the kingdom. Being formerly an eccleſiaſtic, (for none elſe, ſays the learned judge, were then capable of an office ſo converſant in writings) and preſiding over the royal chapel,† he became keeper of the king's conſcience, viſitor under the crown of all hoſpitals and colleges of royal foundation, and patron of all the crown livings under the value of 20l. per ann. in the king's books:" a power by which he influences the public opinion through the medium of the abovementioned political ſuperſtition, as by appointing the juſtices of peace, he gives a tone to the more minute reſtraints of law on our conduct. "He is alſo the general guardian of all infants, ideots, and lunatics, and has the general ſuperintendence of all the charitable uſes in the kingdom. And all this over and above *the vaſt and extenſive juriſdiction*, which he exerciſes in his judicial capacity in the court of chancery." A vaſt and extenſive juriſdiction indeed! and whether it

* Stat. 31 Hen. VIII. c. 10. † Madox Hiſt. Exch. 42.

be

be not too much for an individual to poſſeſs, will be better underſtood when the RIGHTS OF MAN, of which Blackſtone* has already treated, have received that full diſcuſſion, which muſt ultimately eſtabliſh truth and equity, and overthrow error, ſuperſtition, and deſpotiſm.

The enormous influence and power always annexed to the high dignity of this office, may be inſtanced in ſeveral acts of ſtate previous to the conqueſt of our iſland by William, and traced even to the venerable records of the Saxon age. At that time the impoſing *authority* of eccleſiaſtic ſuperſtition, itſelf a monſter in the ſtate, was added to the legal functions of an office, which, with only half its original power, ſtill retains ſo *vaſt and extenſive a juriſdiction;* and which ſince that ſuperſtition has been rendered ſubordinate to the crown, is the only judicial office, from which the king can arbitrarily diſplace. Thus king Ethelred gave the chancellorſhip to be annexed in perpetual ſucceſſion to the church of Ely; although Sir Edward Coke† conſiders ſuch grants as void in law. Alſo, on the advice of chancellor Reinbald, Edward the Confeſſor granted lands to the Abbot of Weſtminſter, and with his own hands affixed the ſign of the croſs to the charter.‡

Thus it appears that Polydore Virgil was in an error, when he aſſerted that the court of chancery originated with the uſurpation of the Norman conqueror. William

* See the whole of book I. on Rights of Perſons: or rather ſee the whole work.

† 4 Inſt. 78 ‡ Ibid.

however, in conformity to the practice of his predeceſſors, gave the office of chancellor to Arfaſtus Biſhop of Northelmham in Norfolk, who transferred his ſee to Thetford.

The importance of the office which was thus monopolized by the church is the more apparent, as it is laid down by Fitz-Stephens, who wrote in the reign of Henry II.* that "the chancellor holds the ſecond dignity to that of the ſovereign." And as precedency was regulated by eſtabliſhed cuſtom till the Stat. 31 Hen. VIII. c. 10. ſo the ſame ſuper-eminence of rank continued to be enjoyed by Sir Thomas More, although a layman, even after Henry VIII. had thrown off the Roman yoke. For we find in a copy of the articles drawn up under a ſpecial commiſſion, by the chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, and ſeveral other lords, judges, and members of the privy-council, which is preſerved in the Inſtitutes of Sir Edward Coke,† that the chancellor's ſignature is the firſt in order, and though a commoner, precedes that of the duke of Norfolk.‡

The extreme ignorance and bigotry of thoſe early periods concurred to ſuppreſs almoſt every right of the free-born ſoul, and to accumulate every power of the human mind in eccleſiaſtic hands. Even Fleta, who wrote § in

* Stow's Survey verſus finem. † 4 Inſt. 95.

‡ It is obſervable that the manner of ſigning, was to add the initial of the prænomen, or Chriſtian name as it is vulgarly called. T. More, T. Norfolk, Char. Suffolk, &c.

§ Blackſt. Comm. iv. c. 33. p. 427.

the

the reign of Edward I. when ſpeaking of this great office, conſiders its being veſted in ſome prudent and diſcreet biſhop or clerk as an eſtabliſhed maxim. He even extends that clerical influence ſtill further, by aſſociating with him honeſt and upright eccleſiaſtics, ſworn to the king, and well ſkilled in the laws; whoſe office it was to examine the caſes which ſhould ariſe in that court, and to aſſiſt in the adminiſtration of that *remedial* part of juſtice which was committed to its cognizance.*

After this period, although we find on the rolls the names of ſeveral chancellors who were not eccleſiaſtics, yet this high dignity, this *vaſt and extenſive juriſdiction*, was on the whole ſo generally appropriated to the church, that in the Parliament anno 45 Edwardi III. "a grievous complaint was made by the Lords and Commons, that the realm had been of long time governed by men of the church, *in diſheriſon of the crown:* and they deſired that laymen only might be principal officers," † &c. Thus it appears that the church encroached as much on the privileges of the crown, as on the liberties of the people. The ſame complaint in the ſubſequent reign of Richard II. ſeems to carry on the like imputation, and to ſhew that too large a meaſure of dignity and power, given either to an individual or to a body like the church, is not only incompatible with human rights, but with human policy and perſonal virtue.

The enormities exerciſed in conſequence of this accumulation of influence, riches, and authority, had then

* Fleta l. 2. c. 12. Glanv. l. 8, 12. c. 1, 5. † Coke's Inſt. iv. 79.

grown

grown to ſuch a height, as to provoke the whole body of the realm! And a petition ſimilar to that in the reign of Edward III. was now preſented, on account not only of the corruption, but of the *ignorance* in the management of this high office. It requeſts "that the moſt wiſe and able men only might be ſelected for it, who would more readily redreſs the grievances complained of."

It would be tedious to purſue the long windings of a dry and unfruitful ſubject, on which ſo many volumes have been already written: but it is worthy of remark, that though by the oath of office the chancellor is bound to ſerve and counſel the king, and prevent the decreaſe of any of HIS rights, and to "do and purchaſe THE KING'S PROFIT *in all that he may*;" yet that oath contains not the moſt diſtant alluſion to any obligation, as grand judiciary of the realm, to *do or purchaſe* any GOOD or RIGHTS for the People!!

THE

DISCOURSES

OF

RAPHAEL HYTHLODAY,

OF THE BEST STATE OF A

COMMONWEALTH.

WRITTEN BY

SIR THOMAS MORE,

CITIZEN AND SHERIFF OF LONDON.

HENRY the Eighth, the unconquered king of England, a prince adorned with all the virtues that become a great monarch, having ſome differences of no ſmall conſequence with Charles the moſt ſerene prince of Caſtile, ſent me into Flanders, as his ambaſſador, for treating and compoſing matters between them. I was colleague and companion to that incomparable man Cuthbert Tonſtal, whom the king with ſuch univerſal applauſe lately made Maſter of the Rolls, but of whom I will ſay nothing, not becauſe I fear that the teſtimony of a friend will be ſuſpected, but rather becauſe his learning and virtues are too great for me to do them juſtice, and ſo well known,

that they need not my commendations, unleſs I would, according to the proverb, *ſhew the ſun with a lantern.*

Thoſe that were appointed by the prince to treat with us, met us at Bruges, according to agreement: they were all worthy men. The Margrave of Bruges was their head, and the chief man among them; but he that was eſteemed the wiſeſt, and that ſpoke for the reſt, was George Temſe, the Provoſt of Caſſelſee: both art and nature had concurred to make him eloquent. He was very learned in the law: and, as he had a great capacity, ſo, by a long practice in affairs, he was very dexterous at unravelling them.

After we had ſeveral times met, without coming to an agreement, they went to Bruſſels for ſome days, to know the prince's pleaſure: and, ſince our buſineſs would admit it, I went to Antwerp. While I was there, among many that viſited me, there was one that was more acceptable to me than any other; Peter Giles, born at Antwerp, who is a man of great honor, and of a good rank in his town, though leſs than he deſerves; for I do not know if there be any where to be found a more learned and a better bred young man: for as he is both a very worthy and a very knowing perſon, ſo he is ſo civil to all men, ſo particularly kind to his friends, and ſo full of candor and affection, that there is not perhaps above one or two any where to be found, that is in all reſpects ſo perfect a friend. He is extraordinarily modeſt; there is no artifice in him; and yet no man has more of a prudent ſimplicity. His converſation was ſo pleaſant and ſo innocently cheerful, that his company in a great meaſure leſſened

leſſened any longings to go back to my country, and to my wife and children, which an abſence of four months had quickened very much. One day as I was returning home from maſs at St. Mary's, which is the chief church, and the moſt frequented of any in Antwerp, I ſaw him by accident talking with a ſtranger, who ſeemed paſt the flower of his age; his face was tanned, he had a long beard, and his cloak was hanging careleſsly about him; ſo that by his looks and habit I concluded he was a ſeaman. As ſoon as Peter ſaw me, he came and ſaluted me; and, as I was returning his civility, he took me aſide, and pointing to him with whom he had been diſcourſing, he ſaid, Do you ſee that man? I was juſt thinking to bring him to you.—I anſwered, he ſhould have been very welcome on your account.—And on his own too, replied he, if you knew the man; for there is none alive that can give ſo copious an account of unknown nations and countries as he can do; which I know you very much deſire.—Then, ſaid I, I did not gueſs amiſs; for at firſt ſight I took him for a ſeaman.—But you are much miſtaken, ſaid he; for he has not ſailed as a ſeaman, but as a traveller, or rather a philoſopher. This Raphael, who from his family carries the name of Hythloday, is not ignorant of the Latin tongue, but is eminently learned in the Greek, having applied himſelf more particularly to that than to the former, becauſe he had given himſelf much to philoſophy, in which he knew that the Romans have left us nothing that is valuable, except what is to be found in Seneca and Cicero. He is a Portugueſe by birth, and was ſo deſirous of ſeeing the world, that he divided

his eſtate among his brothers, run the ſame hazard as Americus Veſputius, and bore a ſhare in three of his four voyages, that are now publiſhed; only he did not return with him in his laſt, but obtained leave of him, almoſt by force, that he might be one of thoſe twenty-four who were left at the fartheſt place at which they touched, in their laſt voyage to New Caſtile. The leaving him thus, did not a little gratify one that was more fond of travelling than of returning home, to be buried in his own country; for he uſed often to ſay, that the way to heaven was the ſame from all places; and he that had no grave had the heavens ſtill over him. Yet this diſpoſition of mind had coſt him dear, if God had not been very gracious to him; for after he, with five Caſtilians, had travelled over many countries, at laſt, by ſtrange good fortune, he got to Ceylon, and from thence to Calicut, where he very happily found ſome Portugueſe ſhips; and, beyond all men's expectations, returned to his native country.

When Peter had ſaid this to me, I thanked him for his kindneſs, in intending to give me the acquaintance of a man, whoſe converſation he knew would be ſo acceptable; and upon that Raphael and I embraced each other. After thoſe civilities were paſt, which are uſual with ſtrangers upon their firſt meeting, we all went to my houſe; and, entering into the garden, ſat down on a green bank, and entertained one another in diſcourſe. He told us, that when Veſputius had ſailed away, he and his companions that ſtaid behind in New Caſtile, by degrees inſinuated themſelves into the affections of the people of

the

country, meeting often with them, and treating them gently; and at laſt they not only lived among them without danger, but converſed familiarly with them; and got ſo far into the heart of a prince, whoſe name and country I have forgot, that he both furniſhed them plentifully with all things neceſſary, and alſo with the conveniencies of travelling, both boats when they went by water, and waggons when they travelled over land. He ſent with them a very faithful guide, who was to introduce and recommend them to ſuch other princes as they had a mind to ſee. And after many days journey, they came to towns, and cities, and to commonwealths, that were both happily governed and well peopled. Under the Equator, and as far on both ſides of it as the ſun moves, there lay vaſt deſarts that were parched with the perpetual heat of the ſun; the ſoil was withered, all things looked diſmally, and all places were either quite uninhabited, or abounded with wild beaſts and ſerpents, and ſome few men, that were neither leſs wild, nor leſs cruel, than the beaſts themſelves. But as they went farther, a new ſcene opened; all things grew milder, the air leſs burning, the ſoil more verdant, and even the beaſts were leſs wild; and at laſt there were nations, towns, and cities, that had not only mutual commerce among themſelves, and with their neighbours, but traded, both by ſea and land, to very remote countries. There they found the conveniencies of ſeeing many countries on all hands; for no ſhip went any voyage into which he and his companions were not very welcome. The firſt veſſels that they ſaw were flat-bottomed, their ſails were made of reeds and wicker

woven close together, only some were of leather; but afterwards they found ships made with round keels, and canvas sails, and in all respects like our ships; and the seamen understood both astronomy and navigation. He got wonderfully into their favour, by shewing them the use of the needle, of which till then they were utterly ignorant. They sailed before with great caution, and only in summer time, but now they count all seasons alike, trusting wholly to the loadstone, in which they are perhaps more secure than safe; so that there is reason to fear, that this discovery which was thought would prove so much to their advantage, may by their imprudence become an occasion of much mischief to them. But it were too long to dwell on all that he told us he had observed in every place; it would be too great a digression from our present purpose. Whatever is necessary to be told, concerning those wise and prudent institutions which he observed among civilized nations, may perhaps be related by us on a more proper occasion. We asked him many questions concerning all these things, to which he answered very willingly; only we made no enquiries after monsters, than which nothing is more common; for every where one may hear of ravenous dogs and wolves, and cruel men-eaters; but it is not so easy to find states that are well and wisely governed.

As he told us of many things that were amiss in those new discovered countries, so he reckoned up not a few things, from which patterns might be taken for correcting the errors of these nations among whom we live; of which an account may be given, as I have already promised, at some

ſome other time ; for at preſent I intend only to relate thoſe particulars that he told us of the manners and laws of the Utopians : but I will begin with the occaſion that led us to ſpeak of that commonwealth. After Raphael had diſcourſed with great judgment on the many errors that were both among us and theſe nations ; had treated of the wiſe inſtitutions both here and there, and had ſpoken as diſtinctly of the cuſtoms and government of every nation through which he had paſt, as if he had ſpent his whole life in it ; Peter being ſtruck with admiration, ſaid I wonder Raphael, how it comes that you enter into no king's ſervice, for I am ſure there are none to whom you would not be very acceptable : for your learning and knowledge, both of men and things is ſuch, that you would not only entertain them very pleaſantly, but be of great uſe to them, by the examples you could ſet before them, and the advices you could give them ; and by this means you would both ſerve your own intereſt, and be of great uſe to all your friends. As for my friends, anſwered he, I need not be much concerned, having already done for them all that was incumbent on me ; for when I was not only in good health, but freſh and young, I diſtributed that among my kindred and friends, which other people do not part with till they are old and ſick ; when they then unwillingly give that which they can enjoy no longer themſelves. I think my friends ought to reſt contented with this, and not to expect that for their ſakes I ſhould enſlave myſelf to any king whatſoever. Soft and fair, ſaid Peter, I do not mean that you ſhould be a ſlave to any king, but only that you ſhould aſſiſt

them, and be useful to them. The change of the word, said he, does not alter the matter. But term it as you will, replied Peter, I do not see any other way in which you can be so useful, both in private to your friends, and to the public, and by which you can make your own condition happier. Happier! answered Raphael, is that to be compassed in a way so abhorrent to my genius? Now I live as I will, to which I believe few courtiers can pretend: and there are so many that court the favour of great men, that there will be no great loss, if they are not troubled either with me or with others of my temper. Upon this, said I, I perceive, Raphael, that you neither desire wealth nor greatness; and indeed I value and admire such a man much more than I do any of the great men in the world. Yet I think you would do what would well become so generous and philosophical a soul as yours is, if you would apply your time and thoughts to public affairs, even though you may happen to find it a little uneasy to yourself; and this you can never do with so much advantage, as by being taken into the council of some great prince, and putting him on noble and worthy actions, which I know you would do if you were in such a post; for the springs both of good and evil flow from the prince, over a whole nation, as from a lasting fountain. So much learning as you have, even without practice in affairs; or so great a practice as you have had, without any other learning, would render you a very fit counsellor to any king whatsoever. You are doubly mistaken, said he, Mr. More, both in your opinion of me, and in the judgment you make of things: for as I have not that capacity that

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you fancy I have, ſo, if I had it, the public would not be one jot the better, when I had ſacrificed my quiet to it. For moſt princes apply themſelves more to affairs of war than to the uſeful arts of peace; and in theſe I neither have any knowledge, nor do I much deſire it: they are generally more ſet on acquiring new kingdoms, right or wrong, than on governing well thoſe they poſſeſs. And among the miniſters of princes, there are none that are not ſo wiſe as to need no aſſiſtance, or at leaſt that do not think themſelves ſo wiſe, that they imagine they need none; and if they court any, it is only thoſe for whom the prince has much perſonal favour, whom by their fawnings and flatteries they endeavour to fix to their own intereſts: and indeed Nature has ſo made us, that we all love to be flattered, and to pleaſe ourſelves with our own notions. The old crow loves his young, and the ape her cubs. Now if in ſuch a court, made up of perſons who envy all others, and only admire themſelves, a perſon ſhould but propoſe any thing that he had either read in hiſtory, or obſerved in his travels, the reſt would think that the reputation of their wiſdom would ſink, and that their intereſts would be much depreſſed, if they could not run it down: and if all other things failed, then they would fly to this, That ſuch or ſuch things pleaſed our anceſtors, and it were well for us if we could but match them. They would ſet up their reſt on ſuch an anſwer, as a ſufficient confutation of all that could be ſaid; as if it were a great misfortune, that any ſhould be found wiſer than his anceſtors: but though they willingly let go all the good things that were among thoſe of former ages; yet, if better things are propoſed, they

they cover themſelves obſtinately with this excuſe, of reverence to paſt times. I have met with theſe proud, moroſe, and abſurd judgments of things in many places, particularly once in England. Was you ever there, ſaid I?—Yes, I was, anſwered he, and ſtaid ſome months there, not long after the rebellion in the Weſt was ſuppreſſed, with a great ſlaughter of the poor people that were engaged in it.

I was then much obliged to that reverend prelate John Morton, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Cardinal, and Chancellor of England; a man, ſaid he, Peter (for Mr. More knows well what he was), that was not leſs venerable for his wiſdom and virtues, than for the high character he bore. He was of a middle ſtature, not broken with age; his looks begot reverence rather than fear; his converſation was eaſy, but ſerious and grave; he ſometimes took pleaſure to try the force of thoſe that came as ſuitors to him upon buſineſs, by ſpeaking ſharply, though decently to them, and by that he diſcovered their ſpirit and preſence of mind, with which he was much delighted, when it did not grow up to impudence, as bearing a great reſemblance to his own temper; and he looked on ſuch perſons as the fitteſt men for affairs. He ſpoke both gracefully and weightily; he was eminently ſkilled in the law, had a vaſt underſtanding, and a prodigious memory; and thoſe excellent talents with which Nature had furniſhed him, were improved by ſtudy and experience. When I was in England, the king depended much on his counſels, and the government ſeemed to be chiefly ſupported by him; for from his youth he had been all along practiſed

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in affairs; and having paſſed through many traverſes of fortune, he had with great coſt acquired a vaſt ſtock of wiſdom, which is not ſoon loſt, when it is purchaſed ſo dear.

One day, when I was dining with him, there happened to be at table one of the Engliſh lawyers, who took occaſion to run out in a high commendation of the ſevere execution of juſtice upon thieves, who, as he ſaid, were then hanged ſo faſt, that there were ſometimes twenty on one gibbet; and upon that he ſaid, he could not wonder enough how it came to paſs, that ſince ſo few eſcaped, there were yet ſo many thieves left, who were ſtill robbing in all places. Upon this, I, who took the boldneſs to ſpeak freely before the cardinal, ſaid, there was no reaſon to wonder at the matter, ſince this way of puniſhing thieves was neither juſt in itſelf nor good for the public; for as the ſeverity was too great, ſo the remedy was not effectual; ſimple theft not being ſo great a crime, that it ought to coſt a man his life; no puniſhment, how ſevere ſoever, being able to reſtrain thoſe from robbing, who can find out no other way of livelihood. In this, ſaid I, not only you in England, but a great part of the world, imitate ſome ill maſters, that are readier to chaſtiſe their ſcholars than to teach them. There are dreadful puniſhments enacted againſt thieves; but it were much better to make ſuch good proviſions, by which every man might be put in a method how to live, and ſo be preſerved from the fatal neceſſity of ſtealing, and of dying for it.—There has been care enough taken for that, ſaid he, there are many handicrafts, and there is huſbandry, by which they

may

may make a ſhift to live, unleſs they have a greater mind to follow ill courſes.—That will not ſerve your turn, ſaid I, for many loſe their limbs in civil or foreign wars, as lately in the Corniſh rebellion, and ſome time ago in your wars with France, who, being thus mutilated in the ſervice of their king and country, can no more follow their old trades, and are too old to learn new ones. But ſince wars are only accidental things, and have intervals, let us conſider thoſe things that fall out every day. There is a great number of noblemen among you, that are themſelves as idle as drones, that ſubſiſt on other men's labour —on the labour of their tenants, whom, to raiſe their revenues, they pare to the quick. This, indeed, is the only inſtance of their frugality; for in all other things they are prodigal, even to the beggaring of themſelves. But, beſides this, they carry about with them a great number of idle fellows, who never learned any art by which they may gain their living; and theſe, as ſoon as either their lord dies or they themſelves fall ſick, are turned out of doors; for your lords are readier to feed idle people than to take care of the ſick; and often the heir is not able to keep together ſo great a family as his predeceſſor did. Now, when the ſtomachs of thoſe that are thus turned out of doors grow keen, they rob no leſs keenly. And, what elſe can they do? For when, by wandering about, they have worn out both their health and their clothes, and are tattered, and look ghaſtly, men of quality will not entertain them, and poor men dare not do it; knowing that one who has been bred up in idleneſs and pleaſure, and who was uſed to walk about with his

his ſword and buckler, deſpiſing all the neighbourhood with an inſolent ſcorn, as far below him, is not fit for the ſpade and mattock; nor will he ſerve a poor man for ſo ſmall a hire, and on ſo low a diet as he can afford to give him. To this he anſwered, This ſort of men ought to be particularly cheriſhed, for in them conſiſts the force of the armies for which we have occaſion; ſince their birth inſpires them with a nobler ſenſe of honour than is to be found among tradeſmen or ploughmen.—You may as well ſay, replied I, that you muſt cheriſh thieves on the account of wars, for you will never want the one as long as you have the other; and as robbers prove ſometimes gallant ſoldiers, ſo ſoldiers often prove brave robbers; ſo near an alliance there is between thoſe two ſorts of life. But this bad cuſtom, ſo common among you, of keeping many ſervants, is not peculiar to this nation. In France there is yet a more peſtiferous ſort of people, for the whole country is full of ſoldiers, ſtill kept up in time of peace, if ſuch a ſtate of a nation can be called a peace: and theſe are kept in pay upon the ſame account that you plead for thoſe idle retainers about noblemen; this being a maxim of thoſe pretended ſtateſmen, that it is neceſſary for the public ſafety to have a good body of veteran ſoldiers ever in readineſs. They think raw men are not to be depended on; and they ſometimes ſeek occaſions for making war, that they may train up their ſoldiers in the art of cutting throats; or, as Salluſt obſerved, for keeping their hands in uſe, that they may not grow dull by too long an intermiſſion. But France has learned to its coſt, how dangerous it is to feed ſuch beaſts. The

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fate of the Romans, Carthaginians, and Syrians, and many other nations and cities, which were both overturned and quite ruined by thoſe ſtanding armies, ſhould make others wiſer. And the folly of this maxim of the French appears plainly, even from this, that their trained ſoldiers often find your raw men prove too hard for them; of which I will not ſay much, leſt you may think I flatter the Engliſh. Every day's experience ſhews, that the mechanics in the towns, or the clowns in the country, are not afraid of fighting with thoſe idle gentlemen, if they are not diſabled by ſome misfortune in their body, or diſpirited by extreme want; ſo that you need not fear, that thoſe well-ſhaped and ſtrong men (for it is only ſuch that noblemen love to keep about them, till they ſpoil them), who now grow feeble with eaſe, and are ſoftened with their effeminate manner of life, would be leſs fit for action if they were well bred and well employed. And it ſeems very unreaſonable, that, for the proſpect of a war, which you need never have but when you pleaſe, you ſhould maintain ſo many idle men, as will always diſturb you in time of peace, which is ever to be more conſidered than war.

But I do not think that this neceſſity of ſtealing, ariſes only from hence; there is another cauſe of it more peculiar to England.—What is that? ſaid the Cardinal.—The increaſe of paſture, ſaid I, by which your ſheep, which are naturally mild, and eaſily kept in order, may be ſaid now to devour men, and unpeople, not only villages, but towns: for wherever it is found, that the ſheep of any ſoil yield a ſofter and richer wool than ordinary, there the nobility

nobility and gentry, and even thoſe holy men the abbots, not contented with the old rents which their farms yielded, nor thinking it enough that they living at their eaſe, do no good to the public, reſolve to do it hurt inſtead of good. They ſtop the courſe of agriculture, deſtroying houſes and towns, reſerving only the churches, and incloſe grounds that they may lodge their ſheep in them, as if foreſts and parks had ſwallowed up too little of the land, thoſe worthy country men turn the beſt inhabited places into ſolitudes; for when an unſatiable wretch, who is a plague to his country, reſolves to incloſe many thouſand acres of ground, the owners, as well as tenants, are turned out of their poſſeſſions, by tricks or by main force, or being wearied out with ill uſage, they are forced to ſell them. By which means thoſe miſerable people, both men and women, married and unmarried, old and young, with their poor, but numerous families, (ſince country buſineſs requires many hands) are all forced to change their ſeats, not knowing whither to go; and they muſt ſell almoſt for nothing, their houſhold ſtuff, which could not bring them much money, even though they might ſtay for a buyer: when that little money is at an end, for it will be ſoon ſpent; what is left for them to do, but either to ſteal and ſo to be hanged, (God knows how juſtly) or to go about and beg? And if they do this, they are put in priſon as idle vagabonds; while they would willingly work, but can find none that will hire them; for there is no more occaſion for country labour, to which they have been bred, when there is no arable ground left. One ſhepherd can look after a flock, which will ſtock an extent

extent of ground that would require many hands, if it were to be ploughed and reaped. This likewiſe in many places raiſes the price of corn. The price of wool is alſo ſo riſen, that the poor people who were wont to make cloth, are no more able to buy it; and this likewiſe makes many of them idle. For ſince the increaſe of paſture, God has puniſhed the avarice of the owners, by a rot among the ſheep, which has deſtroyed vaſt numbers of them; to us it might have ſeemed more juſt had it fell on the owners themſelves. But ſuppoſe the ſheep ſhould increaſe ever ſo much, their price is not like to fall; ſince though they cannot be called a monopoly, becauſe they are not engroſſed by one perſon, yet they are in ſo few hands, and theſe are ſo rich, that as they are not preſſed to ſell them ſooner than they have a mind to it, ſo they never do it till they have raiſed the price as high as poſſible. And on the ſame account it is, that the other kinds of cattle are ſo dear, becauſe many villages being pulled down, and all country labour being much neglected, there are none who make it their buſineſs to breed them. The rich do not breed cattle as they do ſheep, but buy them lean, and at low prices; and after they have fattened them on their grounds, ſell them again at righ rates. And I do not think that all the inconveniencies this will produce, are yet obſerved; for as they ſell the cattle dear, ſo, if they are conſumed faſter than the breeding countries from which they are brought can afford them, then the ſtock muſt decreaſe, and this muſt needs end in great ſcarcity; and by theſe means, this your iſland, which ſeemed, as to this particular, the happieſt in the world, will ſuffer much by

by the curſed avarice of a few perſons; beſides this, the riſing of corn makes all people leſſen their families as much as they can; and what can thoſe who are diſmiſſed by them do, but either beg or rob? And to this laſt, a man of a great mind is much ſooner drawn than to the former. Luxury likewiſe breaks in apace upon you, to ſet forward your poverty and miſery; there is an exceſſive vanity in apparel, and great coſt in diet, and that not only in noblemen's families, but even among tradeſmen, among the farmers themſelves, and among all ranks of perſons. You have alſo many infamous houſes, and, beſides thoſe that are known, the taverns and ale-houſes are no better; add to theſe, dice, cards, tables, foot-ball, tennis, and coits, in which money runs faſt away; and thoſe that are initiated into them, muſt, in the concluſion, betake themſelves to robbing for a ſupply. Baniſh theſe plagues, and give orders that thoſe who have diſpeopled ſo much ſoil, may either rebuild the villages they have pulled down, or let out their grounds to ſuch as will do it. Reſtrain thoſe engroſſings of the rich, that are as bad almoſt as *monopolies;* leave fewer occaſions to idleneſs; let agriculture be ſet up again, and the manufacture of the wool be regulated, that ſo there may be work found for thoſe companies of idle people, whom want forces to be thieves, or who now being idle vagabonds, or uſeleſs ſervants, will certainly grow thieves at laſt. If you do not find a remedy to theſe evils, it is a vain thing to boaſt of your ſeverity in puniſhing theft; which, though it may have the appearance of juſtice, yet in itſelf is neither juſt nor convenient: for, if you ſuffer your people to be

ill educated, and their manners to be corrupted from their infancy, and then puniſh them for thoſe crimes to which their firſt education diſpoſed them, what elſe is to be concluded from this, but that you firſt make thieves and then puniſh them?

While I was talking thus, the counſellor who was preſent had prepared an anſwer, and had reſolved to reſume all I had ſaid, according to the formality of a debate, in which things are generally repeated more faithfully than they are anſwered; as if the chief trial to be made were of men's memories. You have talked prettily for a ſtranger, ſaid he, having heard of many things among us, which you have not been able to conſider well; but I will make the whole matter plain to you, and will firſt repeat in order all that you have ſaid, then I will ſhew how much your ignorance of our affairs has miſled you, and will, in the laſt place, anſwer all your arguments. And that I may begin where I promiſed, there were four things ——Hold your peace, ſaid the cardinal; this will take up too much time; therefore we will at preſent eaſe you of the trouble of anſwering, and reſerve it to our next meeting, which ſhall be to-morrow, if Raphael's affairs and your's can admit of it. But, Raphael, ſaid he to me, I would gladly know upon what reaſon it is that you think theft ought not to be puniſhed by death. Would you give way to it? Or, do you propoſe any other puniſhment that will be more uſeful to the public? For, ſince death does not reſtrain theft, if men thought their lives would be ſafe, what fear or force could reſtrain ill men? On the contrary, they would look on the mitigation of

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the punishment as an invitation to commit more crimes. —I answered, It seems to me a very unjust thing to take away a man's life for a little money; for nothing in the world can be of equal value with a man's life. And if it is said, that it is not for the money that one suffers, but for his breaking the law, I must say, extreme justice is an extreme injury; for we ought not to approve of these terrible laws that make the smallest offence capital, nor of that opinion of the Stoics, that makes all crimes equal, as if there were no difference to be made between the killing a man and the taking his purse, between which, if we examine things impartially, there is no likeness nor proportion. God has commanded us not to kill; and shall we kill so easily for a little money? But, if one shall say, that by that law we are only forbid to kill any, except when the laws of the land allow of it; upon the same grounds, laws may be made in some cases to allow of adultery and perjury; for God having taken from us the right of disposing, either of our own, or of other people's lives, if it is pretended, that the mutual consent of men in making laws, can authorize manslaughter in cases in which God has given us no example, that it frees people from the obligation of the Divine law, and so makes murder a lawful action; what is this, but to give a preference to human laws before the Divine? And if this is once admitted, by the same rule, men may, in all other things, put what restrictions they please upon the laws of God. If by the Mosaical law, though it was rough and severe, as being a yoke laid on an obstinate and servile nation, men were only fined, and not put to death,

for theft, we cannot imagine that in this new law of mercy, in which God treats us with the tenderneſs of a father, he has given us a greater licenſe to cruelty than he did to the Jews. Upon theſe reaſons it is, that I think putting thieves to death is not lawful; and it is plain and obvious that it is abſurd and of ill conſequence to the commonwealth, that a thief and a murderer ſhould be equally puniſhed; for if a robber ſees that his danger is the ſame, if he is convicted of theft, as if he were guilty of murder, this will naturally incite him to kill the perſon whom otherwiſe he would only have robbed, ſince, if the puniſhment is the ſame, there is more ſecurity, and leſs danger of diſcovery, when he that can beſt make it is put out of the way; ſo that terrifying thieves too much, provokes them to cruelty.

But as to the queſtion, What more convenient way of puniſhment can be found? I think it is much eaſier to find out that, than to invent any thing that is worſe. Why ſhould we doubt but the way that was ſo long in uſe among the old Romans, who underſtood ſo well the arts of government, was very proper for their puniſhment? They condemned ſuch as they found guilty of great crimes, to work their whole lives in quarries, or to dig in mines with chains about them. But the method that I liked beſt, was that which I obſerved in my travels in Perſia, among the Polylerits, who are a conſiderable and well governed people. They pay a yearly tribute to the King of Perſia; but in all other reſpects they are a free nation, and governed by their own laws. They lie far from the ſea, and are environed with hills; and being

being contented with the productions of their own country, which is very fruitful, they have little commerce with any other nation; and as they, according to the genius of their country, have no inclination to enlarge their borders; so their mountains, and the pension they pay to the Persian, secure them from all invasions. Thus they have no wars among them; they live rather conveniently than with splendor, and may be rather called a happy nation, than either eminent or famous; for I do not think that they are known so much as by name to any but their next neighbours. Those that are found guilty of theft among them, are bound to make restitution to the owner, and not, as it is in other places, to the prince, for they reckon that the prince has no more right to the stolen goods than the thief; but if that which was stolen is no more in being, then the goods of the thieves are estimated, and restitution being made out of them, the remainder is given to their wives and children, and they themselves are condemned to serve in the public works, but are neither imprisoned nor chained, unless there happens to be some extraordinary circumstances in their crimes. They go about loose and free, working for the public. If they are idle or backward to work, they are whipped; but if they work hard, they are well used, and treated without any mark of reproach, only the lists of them are called always at night, and then they are shut up. They suffer no other uneasiness but this of constant labour; for as they work for the public, so they are well entertained out of the public stock, which is done differently in different places. In some places, whatever is bestowed on

them, is raiſed by a charitable contribution; and though this way may ſeem uncertain, yet ſo merciful are the inclinations of that people, that they are plentifully ſupplied by it; but in other places, public revenues are ſet aſide for them; or there is a conſtant tax of a poll-money raiſed for their maintenance. In ſome places they are ſet to no public work, but every private man that has occaſion to hire workmen, goes to the market-places and hires them of the public, a little lower than he would do a freeman: if they go lazily about their taſk, he may quicken them with the whip. By this means there is always ſome piece of work or other to be done by them; and beſide their livelihood, they earn ſomewhat ſtill to the public. They all wear a peculiar habit, of one certain colour, and their hair is cropt a little above their ears, and a piece of one of their ears is cut off. Their friends are allowed to give them either meat, drink, or clothes, ſo they are of their proper colour; but it is death, both to the giver and taker, if they give them money; nor is it leſs penal for any freeman to take money from them, upon any account whatſoever: and it is alſo death for any of theſe ſlaves (ſo they are called) to handle arms. Thoſe of every diviſion of the country, are diſtinguiſhed by a peculiar mark; which it is capital for them to lay aſide, to go out of their bounds, or to talk with a ſlave of another juriſdiction; and the very attempt of an eſcape, is no leſs penal than an eſcape itſelf; it is death for any other ſlave to be acceſſary to it; and if a freeman engages in it he is condemned to ſlavery: thoſe that diſcover it are rewarded; if freemen, in money; and if ſlaves, with

liberty,

liberty, together with a pardon for being acceſſary to it; that ſo they might find their account, rather in repenting of their engaging in ſuch a deſign, than in perſiſting in it.

Theſe are their laws and rules in relation to robbery; and it is obvious that they are as advantageous as they are mild and gentle; ſince vice is not only deſtroyed, and men preſerved, but they treated in ſuch a manner as to make them ſee the neceſſity of being honeſt, and of employing the reſt of their lives, in repairing the injuries they have formerly done to ſociety. Nor is there any hazard of their falling back to their old cuſtoms: and ſo little do travellers apprehend miſchief from them, that they generally make uſe of them for guides, from one juriſdiction to another; for there is nothing left them by which they can rob, or be the better for it, ſince as they are diſarmed, ſo the very having of money is a ſufficient conviction: and as they are certainly puniſhed if diſcovered, ſo they cannot hope to eſcape; for their habit being in all the parts of it different from what is commonly worn, they cannot fly away, unleſs they would go naked, and even then their cropp'd ear would betray them. The only danger to be feared from them, is their conſpiring againſt the government: but thoſe of one diviſion and neighbourhood can do nothing to any purpoſe, unleſs a general conſpiracy were laid amongſt all the ſlaves of the ſeveral juriſdictions, which cannot be done, ſince they cannot meet or talk together; nor will any venture on a deſign where the concealment would be ſo dangerous, and the diſcovery ſo profitable. None are quite hopeleſs of recovering their freedom, ſince by their obedience and

patience, and by giving good grounds to believe that they will change their manner of life for the future, they may expect at laſt to obtain their liberty: and ſome are every year reſtored to it, upon the good character that is given of them. When I had related all this, I added, that I did not ſee why ſuch a method might not be followed with more advantage, than could ever be expected from that ſevere juſtice which the counſellor magnified ſo much. To this he anſwered, That it could never take place in England, without endangering the whole nation. As he ſaid this, he ſhook his head, made ſome grimaces, and held his peace, while all the company ſeemed of his opinion, except the cardinal, who ſaid that it was not eaſy to form a judgment of its ſucceſs, ſince it was a method that never yet had been tried: but if, ſaid he, when the ſentence of death was paſſed upon a thief, the prince would reprieve him for a while, and make the experiment upon him, denying him the privilege of a ſanctuary; and then if it had a good effect upon him, it might take place; and if it did not ſucceed, the worſt would be, to execute the ſentence on the condemned perſons at laſt. And I do not ſee, added he, why it would be either unjuſt, inconvenient, or at all dangerous, to admit of ſuch a delay: in my opinion, the vagabonds ought to be treated in the ſame manner; againſt whom, though we have made many laws, yet we have not been able to gain our end. When the cardinal had done, they all commended the motion, though they had deſpiſed it when it came from me; but more particularly commended what related to the vagabonds, becauſe it was his own obſervation.

I do

I do not know whether it be worth while to tell what followed, for it was very ridiculous; but I ſhall venture at it, for as it is not foreign to this matter, ſo ſome good uſe may be made of it. There was a jeſter ſtanding by, that counterfeited the fool ſo naturally, that he ſeemed to be really one. The jeſts which he offered were ſo cold and dull, that we laughed more at him than at them; yet ſometimes he ſaid, as it were by chance, things that were not unpleaſant; ſo as to juſtify the old proverb, "That he who throws the dice often, will ſometimes "have a lucky hit." When one of the company had ſaid, that I had taken care of the thieves, and the cardinal had taken care of the vagabonds, ſo that there remained nothing but that ſome public proviſion might be made for the poor, whom ſickneſs or old age had diſabled from labour: leave that to me, ſaid the fool, and I ſhall take care of them; for there is no ſort of people whoſe ſight I abhor more, having been ſo often vexed with them, and with their ſad complaints; but as dolefully ſoever as they have told their tale, they could never prevail ſo far as to draw one penny from me: for either I had no mind to give them any thing, or when I had a mind to do it, I had nothing to give them: and they now know me ſo well, that they will not loſe their labour, but let me paſs without giving me any trouble, becauſe they hope for nothing, no more in faith than if I were a prieſt: but I would have a law made, for ſending all theſe beggars to monaſteries, the men to the Benedictines to be made lay-brothers, and the women to be nuns. The cardinal ſmiled, and approved of it in jeſt; but the reſt liked it

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in earneſt: there was a divine preſent, who though he was a grave moroſe man, yet he was ſo pleaſed with this reflection that was made on the prieſts and the monks, that he began to play with the fool, and ſaid to him, This will not deliver you from all beggars, except you take care of us friars. That is done already, anſwered the fool, for the cardinal has provided for you, by what he propoſed for reſtraining vagabonds, and ſetting them to work, for I know no vagabonds like you. This was well entertained by the whole company, who looking at the cardinal, perceived that he was not ill pleaſed at it; only the friar himſelf was vexed, as may be eaſily imagined, and fell into ſuch a paſſion, that he could not forbear railing at the fool, and calling him knave, ſlanderer, backbiter, and ſon of perdition, and then cited ſome dreadful threatenings out of the ſcriptures againſt him. Now the jeſter thought he was in his element, and laid about him freely: good friar, ſaid he, be not angry, for it is written, "In patience poſſeſs your ſoul." The friar anſwered, (for I ſhall give you his own words) I am not angry, you hangman; at leaſt I do not ſin in it, for the pſalmiſt ſays, "Be ye angry, and ſin not." Upon this the cardinal admoniſhed him gently, and wiſhed him to govern his paſſions. No, my lord, ſaid he, I ſpeak not but from a good zeal, which I ought to have; for holy men have had a good zeal, as it is ſaid, "The zeal "of thy houſe hath eaten me up;" and we ſing in our church, that thoſe who mocked Eliſha as he went up to the houſe of God, felt the effects of his zeal; which that mocker, that rogue, that ſcoundrel, will perhaps feel.

You

You do this, perhaps, with a good intention, ſaid the cardinal; but, in my opinion, it were wiſer in you, and perhaps better for you, not to engage in ſo ridiculous a conteſt with a fool.—No, my lord, anſwered he, that were not wiſely done; for Solomon, the wiſeſt of men, ſaid, "Anſwer a fool according to his folly;" which I now do, and ſhew him the ditch into which he will fall, if he is not aware of it; for if the many mockers of Eliſha, who was but one bald man, felt the effect of his zeal, what will become of one mocker of ſo many friars, among whom there are ſo many bald men? We have likewiſe a bull, by which all that jeer us are excommunicated. When the cardinal ſaw that there was no end of this matter, he made a ſign to the fool to withdraw, turned the diſcourſe another way; and ſoon after roſe from the table, and, diſmiſſing us, went to hear cauſes.

Thus, Mr. More, I have run out into a tedious ſtory, of the length of which I had been aſhamed, if, as you earneſtly begged it of me, I had not obſerved you to hearken to it as if you had no mind to loſe any part of it. I might have contracted it, but I reſolved to give it you at large, that you might obſerve how thoſe that deſpiſed what I had propoſed, no ſooner perceived that the cardinal did not diſlike it, but preſently approved of it, fawned ſo on him, and flattered him to ſuch a degree, that they in good earneſt applauded thoſe things that he only liked in jeſt. And from hence you may gather, how little courtiers would value either me or my counſels.

To

To this I anſwered, You have done me a great kindneſs in this relation; for as every thing has been related by you both wiſely and pleaſantly, ſo you have made me imagine, that I was in my own country, and grown young again, by recalling that good cardinal to my thoughts, in whoſe family I was bred from my childhood. And though you are upon other accounts very dear to me, yet you are the dearer, becauſe you honour his memory ſo much. But, after all this, I cannot change my opinion; for I ſtill think that if you could overcome that averſion which you have to the courts of princes, you might, by the advice which it is in your power to give, do a great deal of good to mankind; and this is the chief deſign that every good man ought to propoſe to himſelf in living; for your friend Plato thinks that nations will be happy, when either philoſophers become kings, or kings become philoſophers; it is no wonder if we are ſo far from that happineſs, while philoſophers will not think it their duty to aſſiſt kings with their counſels.—They are not ſo baſe-minded, ſaid he, but that they would willingly do it. Many of them have already done it by their books, if thoſe that are in power would but hearken to their good advice. But Plato judged right, that except kings themſelves became philoſophers, they who from their childhood are corrupted with falſe notions, would never fall in entirely with the counſels of philoſophers; and this he himſelf found to be true in the perſon of Dionyſius.

Do not you think, that if I were about any king, propoſing good laws to him, and endeavouring to root out all the

the curſed ſeeds of evil that I found in him, I ſhould either be turned out of his court, or at leaſt be laughed at for my pains? For inſtance, what could I ſignify if I were about the king of France, and were called into his cabinet-council, where ſeveral wiſe men, in his hearing, were propoſing many expedients; as by what arts and practices Milan may be kept, and Naples, that has ſo often ſlipped out of their hands, recovered; how the Venetians, and after them the reſt of Italy, may be ſubdued; and then how Flanders, Brabant, and all Burgundy, and ſome other kingdoms which he has ſwallowed already in his deſigns, may be added to his empire. One propoſes a league with the Venetians, to be kept as long as he finds his account in it, and that he ought to communicate councils with them, and give them ſome ſhare of the ſpoil, till his ſucceſs makes him need or fear them leſs, and then it will be eaſily taken out of their hands. Another propoſes the hiring the Germans, and the ſecuring the Switzers by penſions. Another propoſes the gaining the emperor by money, which is omnipotent with him. Another propoſes a peace with the king of Arragon; and, in order to cement it, the yielding up the king of Navarre's pretenſions. Another thinks the prince of Caſtile is to be wrought on, by the hope of an alliance; and that ſome of his courtiers are to be gained to the French faction by penſions. The hardeſt point of all is what to do with England. A treaty of peace is to be ſet on foot; and if their alliance is not to be depended on, yet it is to be made as firm as poſſible; and they are to be called friends, but ſuſpected as enemies: therefore

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the Scots are to be kept in readineſs, to be let looſe upon England on every occaſion; and ſome baniſhed nobleman is to be ſupported underhand (for by the league it cannot be done avowedly), who has a pretenſion to the crown, by which means that ſuſpected prince may be kept in awe. Now, when things are in ſo great a fermentation, and ſo many gallant men are joining counſels, how to carry on the war, if ſo mean a man as I ſhould ſtand up, and wiſh them to change all their counſels, to let Italy alone, and ſtay at home, ſince the kingdom of France was indeed greater than could be well governed by one man; that therefore he ought not to think of adding others to it. And if, after this, I ſhould propoſe to them the reſolutions of the Achorians, a people that lie on the ſouth-eaſt of Utopia, who long ago engaged in war, in order to add to the dominions of their prince another kingdom, to which he had ſome pretenſions by an ancient alliance. This they conquered; but found that the trouble of keeping it, was equal to that by which it was gained; that the conquered people were always either in rebellion or expoſed to foreign invaſions, while they were obliged to be inceſſantly at war, either for or againſt them, and conſequently could never diſband their army; that in the mean time they were oppreſſed with taxes, their money went out of the kingdom, their blood was ſpilt for the glory of their king, without procuring the leaſt advantage to the people, who received not the ſmalleſt benefit from it even in time of peace; and that their manners being corrupted by a long war, robbery and murders every where abounded, and their laws fell into contempt; while their king,

king, diſtracted with the care of two kingdoms, was the leſs able to apply his mind to the intereſt of either. When they ſaw this, and that there would be no end to theſe evils, they by joint councils made an humble addreſs to their king, deſiring him to chooſe which of the two kingdoms he had the greateſt mind to keep, ſince he could not hold both; for they were too great a people to be governed by a divided king, ſince no man would willingly have a groom that ſhould be in common between him and another. Upon which the good prince was forced to quit his new kingdom to one of his friends (who was not long after dethroned), and to be contented with his old one. To this I would add, that after all thoſe warlike attempts, the vaſt confuſions, and the conſumption both of treaſure and of people that muſt follow them, perhaps, upon ſome misfortune, they might be forced to throw up all at laſt; therefore it ſeemed much more eligible that the king ſhould improve his ancient kingdom all he could, and make it flouriſh as much as poſſible; that he ſhould love his people, and be beloved of them; that he ſhould live among them, govern them gently, and let other kingdoms alone, ſince that which had fallen to his ſhare was big enough, if not too big, for him. Pray, how do you think would ſuch a ſpeech as this be heard?—I confeſs, ſaid I, I think not very well.

But what, ſaid he, if I ſhould ſort with another kind of miniſters, whoſe chief contrivances and conſultations were, by what art the prince's treaſures might be encreaſed. Where one propoſes raiſing the value of ſpecie when the king's debts are large, and lowering it when his revenues

revenues were to come in, that ſo he might both pay much with a little, and in a little receive a great deal. Another propoſes a pretence of a war, that money might be raiſed in order to carry it on, and that a peace be concluded as ſoon as that was done; and this with ſuch appearances of religion as might work on the people, and make them impute it to the piety of their prince, and to his tenderneſs for the lives of his ſubjects. A third offers ſome old muſty laws, that have been antiquated by a long diſuſe; and which, as they had been forgotten by all the ſubjects, ſo they had been alſo broken by them; and propoſes the levying the penalties of theſe laws, that as it would bring in a vaſt treaſure, ſo there might be a very good pretence for it, ſince it would look like the executing a law, and the doing of juſtice. A fourth propoſes the prohibiting of many things under ſevere penalties, eſpecially ſuch as were againſt the intereſt of the people, and then the diſpenſing with theſe prohibitions, upon great compoſitions, to thoſe who might find their advantage in breaking them. This would ſerve two ends, both of them acceptable to many; for as thoſe whoſe avarice led them to tranſgreſs, would be ſeverely fined, ſo the ſelling licences dear, would look as if a prince were tender of his people, and would not eaſily, or at low rates, diſpenſe with any thing that might be againſt the public good. Another propoſes, that the judges muſt be made ſure, that they may declare always in favour of the prerogative, that they muſt be often ſent for to court, that the king may hear them argue thoſe points in which he is concerned; ſince how unjuſt ſoever any of his pretenſions

may

may be, yet ſtill ſome one or other of them, either out of contradiction to others, or the pride of ſingularity, or to make their court, would find out ſome pretence or other to give the king a fair colour to carry the point: for if the judges but differ in opinion, the cleareſt thing in the world is made by that means diſputable, and truth being once brought in queſtion, the king may then take advantage to expound the law for his own profit, while the judges that ſtand out will be brought over, either out of fear or modeſty; and they being thus gained, all of them may be ſent to the bench to give ſentence boldly, as the king would have it; for fair pretences will never be wanting when ſentence is to be given in the prince's favour: it will either be ſaid, that equity lies of his ſide, or ſome words in the law will be found founding that way, or ſome forced ſenſe will be put on them; and when all other things fail, the king's undoubted prerogative will be pretended, as that which is above all law, and to which a religious judge ought to have a ſpecial regard. Thus all conſent to that maxim of Craſſus, that a prince cannot have treaſure enough, ſince he muſt maintain his armies out of it; that a king, even though he would, can do nothing unjuſtly; that all property is in him, not excepting the very perſons of his ſubjects; and that no man has any other property, but that which the king, out of his goodneſs, thinks fit to leave him: and they think it is the prince's intereſt, that there be as little of this left as may be, as if it were his advantage that his people ſhould have neither riches nor liberty, ſince theſe things make them leſs eaſy and leſs willing to ſubmit to a cruel and unjuſt

government; whereas neceſſity and poverty blunts them, makes them patient, beats them down, and breaks that height of ſpirit, that might otherwiſe diſpoſe them to rebel.

Now, what if, after all theſe propoſitions were made, I ſhould riſe up and aſſert, that ſuch counſels were both unbecoming a king, and miſchievous to him; and that not only his honor but his ſafety conſiſted more in his people's wealth, than in his own; if I ſhould ſhew that they chooſe a king for their own ſake, and not for his; that by his care and endeavors they may be both eaſy and ſafe; and that therefore a prince ought to take more care of his people's happineſs than of his own, as a ſhepherd is to take more care of his flock than of himſelf. It is alſo certain, that they are much miſtaken that think the poverty of a nation is a means of the public ſafety. Who quarrel more than beggars? Who does more earneſtly long for a change, than he that is uneaſy in his preſent circumſtances? And who run to create confuſions with ſo deſperate a boldneſs as thoſe who, having nothing to loſe, hope to gain by them? If a king ſhould fall under ſuch contempt or envy, that he could not keep his ſubjects in their duty but by oppreſſion and ill uſage, and by rendering them poor and miſerable, it were certainly better for him to quit his kingdom, than to retain it by ſuch methods, as makes him, while he keeps the name of authority, loſe the majeſty due to it. Nor is it ſo becoming the dignity of a king to reign over beggars, as over rich and happy ſubjects. And therefore Fabricius, a man of a noble and exalted temper, ſaid, he would rather

rather govern rich men, than be rich himſelf; ſince for one man to abound in wealth and pleaſure, when all about him are mourning and groaning, is to be a gaoler and not a king: He is an unſkilful phyſician, that cannot cure one diſeaſe without caſting his patient into another: So he that can find no other way for correcting the errors of his people, but by taking from them the conveniencies of life, ſhews that he knows not what it is to govern a free nation. He himſelf ought rather to ſhake off his ſloth, or to lay down his pride; for the contempt or hatred that his people have for him, takes its riſe from the vices in himſelf. Let him live upon what belongs to him, without wronging others, and accommodate his expence to his revenue. Let him puniſh crimes, and by his wiſe conduct let him endeavour to prevent them, rather than be ſevere when he has ſuffered them to be too common: Let him not raſhly revive laws that are abrogated by diſuſe, eſpecially if they have been long forgotten, and never wanted. And let him never take any penalty for the breach of them, to which a judge would not give way in a private man, but would look on him as a crafty and unjuſt perſon for pretending to it. To theſe things I would add, that law among the Macarians, a people that lie not far from Utopia, by which their king, on the day on which he begins to reign, is tied by an oath confirmed by ſolemn ſacrifices, never to have at once above a thouſand pounds of gold in his treaſures, or ſo much ſilver as is equal to that in value. This law, they tell us, was made by an excellent king, who had more regard to the riches of his country, than to his own wealth: and therefore provided againſt the heaping

up of ſo much treaſure, as might impoveriſh the people: He thought that moderate ſum might be ſufficient for any accident; if either the king had occaſion for it againſt rebels, or the kingdom againſt the invaſion of an enemy; but that it was not enough to encourage a prince to invade other mens rights, a circumſtance that was the chief cauſe of his making that law. He alſo thought, that it was a good proviſion for that free circulation of money, ſo neceſſary for the courſe of commerce and exchange: And when a king muſt diſtribute all thoſe extraordinary acceſſions that increaſe treaſure beyond the due pitch, it makes him leſs diſpoſed to oppreſs his ſubjects. Such a king as this, will be the terror of ill men, and will be beloved by all the good.

If, I ſay, I ſhould talk of theſe or ſuch like things, to men that had taken their bias another way, how deaf would they be to all I could ſay? No doubt, very deaf, anſwered I; and no wonder, for one is never to offer at propoſitions or advice that we are certain will not be entertained. Diſcourſes ſo much out of the road could not avail any thing, nor have any effect on men, whoſe minds were prepoſſeſſed with different ſentiments. This philoſophical way of ſpeculation, is not unpleaſant among friends in a free converſation; but there is no room for it in the courts of princes, where great affairs are carried on by authority. That is what I was ſaying, replied he, that there is no room for philoſophy in the courts of princes. Yes, there is, ſaid I, but not for this ſpeculative philoſophy, that makes every thing to be alike fitting at all times: But there is another philoſophy that is more pliable, that knows

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its proper ſcene, accommodates itſelf to it, and teaches a man with propriety and decency to act that part which has fallen to his ſhare. If when one of Plautus's comedies is upon the ſtage, and a company of ſervants are acting their parts, you ſhould come out in the garb of a philoſopher, and repeat out of Octavia, a diſcourſe of Seneca's to Nero, would it not be better for you to ſay nothing, than by mixing things of ſuch different natures, to make an impertinent tragi-comedy? For you ſpoil and corrupt the play that is in hand, when you mix with it things of an oppoſite nature, even though they are much better. Therefore go through with the play that is acting the beſt you can; and do not confound it, becauſe another that is pleaſanter comes into your thoughts. It is even ſo in a common-wealth, and in the councils of princes; if ill opinions cannot be quite rooted out, and you cannot cure ſome received vice according to your wiſhes, you muſt not therefore abandon the common-wealth, for the ſame reaſons as you ſhould not forſake the ſhip in a ſtorm, becauſe you cannot command the winds. You are not obliged to aſſault people with diſcourſes that are out of their road, when you ſee that their received notions muſt prevent your making an impreſſion upon them. You ought rather to caſt about, and to manage things with all the dexterity in your power, ſo that if you are not able to make them go well, they may be as little ill as poſſible: For except all men were good, every thing cannot be right; and that is a bleſſing that I do not at preſent hope to ſee. According to your arguments, anſwered he, all that I could be able to do would be to preſerve myſelf from

being mad while I endeavoured to cure the madneſs of others: For if I ſpeak truth, I muſt repeat what I have ſaid to you; and as for lying, whether a philoſopher can do it or not, I cannot tell; I am ſure I cannot do it. But though theſe diſcourſes may be uneaſy and ungrateful to them, I do not ſee why they ſhould ſeem fooliſh or extravagant: Indeed if I ſhould either propoſe ſuch things as Plato has contrived in his common-wealth, or as the Utopians practiſe in theirs, though they might ſeem better, as certainly they are, yet they are ſo different from our eſtabliſhment, which is founded on property, there being no ſuch thing among them, that I could not expect that it would have any effect on them: But ſuch diſcourſes as mine, which only call paſt evils to mind, and give warning of what may follow, have nothing in them that is ſo abſurd, that they may not be uſed at any time; for they can only be unpleaſant to thoſe who are reſolved to run headlong the contrary way: And if we muſt let alone every thing as abſurd or extravagant, which by reaſon of the wicked lives of many, may ſeem uncouth, we muſt, even among Chriſtians, give over preſſing the greateſt part of thoſe things that Chriſt hath taught us: Though he has commanded us not to conceal them, but to proclaim on the houſe-tops that which he taught in ſecret. The greateſt part of his precepts are more oppoſite to the lives of the men of this age, than any part of my diſcourſe has been: But the preachers ſeem to have learned that craft to which you adviſe me; for they obſerving that the world would not willingly ſuit their lives to the rules that Chriſt has given, have fitted his doctrine, as if it had been a

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leaden rule, to their lives; that ſo ſome way or other they might agree with one another. But I ſee no other effect of this compliance, except it be that men become more ſecure in their wickedneſs by it. And this is all the ſucceſs that I can have in a court; for I muſt always differ from the reſt, and then I ſhall ſignify nothing; or if I agree with them I ſhall then only help forward their madneſs. I do not comprehend what you mean by your caſting about, or by the bending and handling things ſo dexterouſly, that if they go not well, they may go as little ill as may be: For in courts they will not bear with a man's holding his peace, or conniving at what others do; A man muſt bare-facedly approve of the worſt counſels, and conſent to the blackeſt deſigns: So that he could paſs for a ſpy, or poſſibly for a traitor, that did but coldly approve of ſuch wicked practices; And therefore when a man is engaged in ſuch a ſociety, he will be ſo far from being able to mend matters by his caſting about, as you call it, that he will find no occaſions of doing any good: The ill company will ſooner corrupt him, than be the better for him: Or if notwithſtanding all their ill company, he ſtill remains ſteady and innocent, yet their follies and knavery will be imputed to him; and by mixing counſels with them, he muſt bear his ſhare of all the blame that belongs wholly to others.

It was no ill ſimilie, by which Plato ſet forth the unreaſonableneſs of a philoſopher's meddling with government. If a man, ſays he, was to ſee a great company run out every day into the rain, and take delight in being wet; if he knew that it would be to no purpoſe for him

to go and perſuade them to return to their houſes, in order to avoid the ſtorm, and that all that could be expected by his going to ſpeak to them, would be that he himſelf ſhould be as wet as they, it would be beſt for him to keep within doors; and ſince he had not influence enough to correct other people's folly, to take care to preſerve himſelf.

Though to ſpeak plainly my real ſentiments, I muſt freely own, that as long as there is any property, and while money is the ſtandard of all other things, I cannot think that a nation can be governed either juſtly or happily: Not juſtly, becauſe the beſt things will fall to the ſhare of the worſt men: Nor happily, becauſe all things will be divided among a few, (and even theſe are not in all reſpects happy) the reſt being left to be abſolutely miſerable. Therefore when I reflect on the wiſe and good conſtitution of the Utopians, among whom all things are ſo well governed, and with ſo few laws; where virtue hath its due reward, and yet there is ſuch an equality, that every man lives in plenty. When I compare with them ſo many other nations that are ſtill making new laws, and yet can never bring their conſtitution to a right regulation, where notwithſtanding every one has his property; yet all the laws that they can invent have not the power either to obtain or preſerve it, or even to enable men certainly to diſtinguiſh what is their own from what is another's; of which the many law-ſuits that every day break out, and are eternally depending, give too plain a demonſtration: When, I ſay, I balance all theſe things in my thoughts, I grow more favourable to Plato, and do not wonder that he reſolved,

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not to make any laws for ſuch as would not ſubmit to a community of all things: For ſo wiſe a man, could not but foreſee that the ſetting all upon a level, was the only way to make a nation happy; which cannot be obtained ſo long as there is property: For when every man draws to himſelf all that he can compaſs, by one title or another, it muſt needs follow, that how plentiful ſoever a nation may be, yet a few dividing the wealth of it among themſelves, the reſt muſt fall into indigence. So that there will be two ſorts of people among them, who deſerve that their fortunes ſhould be interchanged; the former uſeleſs, but wicked and ravenous; and the latter, who by their conſtant induſtry ſerve the public more than themſelves, ſincere and modeſt men. From whence I am perſuaded, that till property is taken away, there can be no equitable or juſt diſtribution of things, nor can the world be happily governed: for as long as that is maintained, the greateſt and the far beſt part of mankind, will be ſtill oppreſſed with a load of cares and anxieties. I confeſs without taking it quite away, thoſe preſſures that lie on a great part of mankind, may be made lighter; but they can never be quite removed. For if laws were made to determine at how great an extent in ſoil, and at how much money every man muſt ſtop, to limit the prince that he might not grow too great, and to reſtrain the people that they might not become too inſolent, and that none might factiouſly aſpire to public employments; which ought neither to be ſold, nor made burthenſome by a great expence; ſince otherwiſe thoſe that ſerve in them, would be tempted to reimburſe themſelves by cheats and violence, and it would become

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neceſſary to find out rich men for undergoing thoſe employments which ought rather to be truſted to the wiſe. Theſe laws, I ſay, might have ſuch effects, as good diet and care might have on a ſick man, whoſe recovery is deſperate; they might allay and mitigate the diſeaſe, but it could never be quite healed, nor the body politic be brought again to a good habit, as long as property remains; and it will fall out as in a complication of diſeaſes, that by applying a remedy to one ſore, you will provoke another; and that which removes the one ill ſymptom produces others, while the ſtrengthening one part of the body weakens the reſt. On the contrary, anſwered I, it ſeems to me that men cannot live conveniently, where all things are common: How can there be any plenty, where every man will excuſe himſelf from labour? For as the hope of gain doth not excite him, ſo the confidence that he has in other men's induſtry, may make him ſlothful: If people come to be pinched with want, and yet cannot diſpoſe of any thing as their own; what can follow upon this, but perpetual ſedition and bloodſhed, eſpecially when the reverence and authority due to magiſtrates falls to the ground? For I cannot imagine how that can be kept up among thoſe that are in all things equal to one another. I do not wonder, ſaid he, that it appears ſo to you, ſince you have no notion, or at leaſt no right one, of ſuch a conſtitution: But if you had been in Utopia with me, and had ſeen their laws and rules, as I did, for the ſpace of five years, in which I lived among them; and during which time I was ſo delighted with them, that indeed I ſhould never have left them, if it had not been

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to make the diſcovery of that new world to the Europeans; you would then confeſs that you had never ſeen a people ſo well conſtituted as they. You will not eaſily perſuade me, ſaid Peter, that any nation in that new world is better governed than thoſe among us. For as our underſtandings are not worſe than theirs, ſo our Government, if I miſtake not, being more ancient, a long practice has helped us to find out many conveniencies of life; and ſome happy chances have diſcovered other things to us, which no man's underſtanding could ever have invented. As for the antiquity, either of their government, or of ours, ſaid he, you cannot paſs a true judgment of it, unleſs you had read their hiſtories; for if they are to be believed, they had towns among them, before theſe parts were ſo much as inhabited: and as for thoſe diſcoveries, that have been either hit on by chance, or made by ingenious men, theſe might have happened there as well as here. I do not deny but we are more ingenious than they are, but they exceed us much in induſtry and application. They knew little concerning us, before our arrival among them; they call us all by a general name of the nations that lie beyond the equinoctial line; for their chronicle mentions a ſhipwreck that was made on their coaſt 1200 years ago; and that ſome Romans and Egyptians that were in the ſhip, getting ſafe aſhore, ſpent the reſt of their days amongſt them; and ſuch was their ingenuity, that from this ſingle opportunity, they drew the advantage of learning from thoſe unlooked for gueſts, and acquired all the uſeful arts that were then among the Romans, and which were known to theſe ſhipwrecked men: and by the hints that they gave them, they themſelves found

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out even ſome of thoſe arts which they could not fully explain; ſo happily did they improve that accident, of having ſome of our people caſt upon their ſhore. But if ſuch an accident has at any time brought any from thence into Europe, we have been ſo far from improving it, that we do not ſo much as remember it; as in after times perhaps it will be forgot by our people that I was ever there. For though they from one ſuch accident, made themſelves maſters of all the good inventions that were among us; yet I believe it would be long before we ſhould learn or put in practice any of the good inſtitutions that are among them: and this is the true cauſe of their being better governed, and living happier than we, though we come not ſhort of them in point of underſtanding, or outward advantages. Upon this I ſaid to him, I earneſtly beg you would deſcribe that iſland very particularly to us. Be not too ſhort, but ſet out in order all things relating to their ſoil, their rivers, their towns, their people, their manners, conſtitution, laws, and in a word, all that you imagine we deſire to know: and you may well imagine that we deſire to know every thing concerning them, of which we are hitherto ignorant. I will do it very willingly, ſaid he, for I have digeſted the whole matter carefully; but it will take up ſome time. Let us go then, ſaid I, firſt and dine, and then we ſhall have leiſure enough. He conſented. We went in and dined, and after dinner came back, and ſat down in the ſame place. I ordered my ſervants to take care that none might come and interrupt us: and both Peter and I deſired Raphael to be as good as his word: when he ſaw that we were very intent upon it, he pauſed a little to recollect himſelf, and began in this manner.

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DISCOURSES, &c.

THE SECOND BOOK.

THE iſland of Utopia is in the middle two hundred miles broad, and holds almoſt at the ſame breadth over a great part of it; but it grows narrower towards both ends. Its figure is not unlike a creſcent: between its horns, the ſea comes in eleven miles broad, and ſpreads itſelf into a great bay, which is environed with land to the compaſs of about five hundred miles, and is well ſecured from winds: in this bay there is no great current, the whole coaſt is, as it were, one continued harbour, which gives all that live in the iſland great convenience for mutual commerce: but the entry into the bay, occaſioned by rocks on the one hand, and ſhallows on the other, is very dangerous. In the middle of it there is one ſingle rock which appears above water, and may therefore eaſily be avoided, and on the top of it there is a tower in which a garriſon is kept, the other rocks lie under water, and are very dangerous. The channel is known only to the natives, ſo that if any ſtranger ſhould enter into the bay, without one of their pilots, he would run great danger of ſhipwreck; for even they themſelves could not paſs it ſafe, if ſome marks that are on the coaſt did not direct their way; and if theſe ſhould be but a little ſhifted, any fleet that might come againſt them, how great ſoever it were, would be certainly loſt. On the other ſide of the iſland, there are likewiſe many harbours; and the coaſt is

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ſo fortified, both by nature and art, that a ſmall number of men can hinder the deſcent of a great army. But they report (and there remains good marks of it to make it credible) that this was no iſland at firſt, but a part of the continent. Utopus, that conquered it (whoſe name it ſtill carries, for Abraxa was its firſt name) brought the rude and uncivilized inhabitants into ſuch a good government, and to that meaſure of politeneſs, that they now far excel all the reſt of mankind; having ſoon ſubdued them, he deſigned to ſeparate them from the continent, and to bring the ſea quite round them. To accompliſh this, he ordered a deep channel to be dug fifteen miles long; and that the natives might not think he treated them like ſlaves, he not only forced the inhabitants, but alſo his own ſoldiers, to labour in carrying it on. As he ſet a vaſt number of men to work, he beyond all mens expectations brought it to a ſpeedy concluſion. And his neighbours who at firſt laughed at the folly of the undertaking, no ſooner ſaw it brought to perfection, than they were ſtruck with admiration and terror.

There are fifty-four cities in the iſland, all large and well built: the manners, cuſtoms, and laws of which are the ſame, and they are all contrived as near in the ſame manner as the ground on which they ſtand will allow: the neareſt lie at leaſt twenty-four miles diſtance from one another, and the moſt remote are not ſo far diſtant, but that a man can go on foot in one day from it, to that which lies next it. Every city ſends three of their wiſeſt ſenators once a year to Amaurot, to conſult about their common concerns; for that is the chief town of the iſland,

iſland, being ſituated near the center of it, ſo that it is the moſt convenient place for their aſſemblies. The juriſdiction of every city extends at leaſt twenty miles: and where the towns lie wider, they have much more ground: no town deſires to enlarge its bounds, for the people conſider themſelves rather as tenants than landlords. They have built over all the country, farm houſes for huſbandmen, which are well contrived, and are furniſhed with all things neceſſary for country labour. Inhabitants are ſent by turns from the cities to dwell in them; no country family has fewer than forty men and women in it, beſides two ſlaves. There is a maſter and a miſtreſs ſet over every family; and over thirty families there is a magiſtrate. Every year twenty of this family come back to the town, after they have ſtayed two years in the country: and in their room there are other twenty ſent from the town, that they may learn country work, from thoſe that have been already one year in the country, as they muſt teach thoſe that come to them the next from the town. By this means ſuch as dwell in thoſe country farms, are never ignorant of agriculture, and ſo commit no errors, which might otherwiſe be fatal, and bring them under a ſcarcity of corn. But though there is every year ſuch a ſhifting of the huſbandmen, to prevent any man being forced againſt his will to follow that hard courſe of life too long; yet many among them take ſuch pleaſure in it, that they deſire leave to continue in it many years. Theſe huſbandmen till the ground, breed cattle, hew wood, and convey it to the towns, either by land or water, as is moſt convenient. They breed an infinite multitude of chickens in a very

very curious manner: for the hens do not ſit and hatch them; but vaſt numbers of eggs are laid in a gentle and equal heat, in order to be hatched; and they are no ſooner out of the ſhell, and able to ſtir about, but they ſeem to conſider thoſe that feed them as their mothers, and follow them as other chickens do the hen that hatched them. They breed very few horſes, but thoſe they have are full of mettle, and are kept only for exerciſing their youth in the art of fitting and riding them; for they do not put them to any work, either of plowing or carriage, in which they employ oxen; for though their horſes are ſtronger, yet they find oxen can hold out longer; and as they are not ſubject to ſo many diſeaſes, ſo they are kept upon a leſs charge, and with leſs trouble: and even when they are ſo worn out, that they are no more fit for labour, they are good meat at laſt. They ſow no corn, but that which is to be their bread; for they drink either wine, cyder or perry, and often water, ſometimes boiled with honey or liquorice, with which they abound; and though they know exactly how much corn will ſerve every town, and all that tract of country which belongs to it, yet they ſow much more, and breed more cattle than are neceſſary for their conſumption: and they give that overplus of which they make no uſe to their neighbours. When they want any thing in the country which it does not produce, they fetch that from the town, without carrying any thing in exchange for it: and the magiſtrates of the town take care to ſee it given them: for they meet generally in the town once a month, upon a feſtival day. When the time of harveſt comes, the magiſtrates in the country ſend

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to thoſe in the towns, and let them know how many hands they will need for reaping the harveſt; and the number they call for being ſent to them, they commonly diſpatch it all in one day.

OF THEIR TOWNS,

PARTICULARLY OF

AMAUROT.

HE that knows one of their towns, knows them all, they are ſo like one another, except where the ſituation makes ſome difference. I ſhall therefore deſcribe one of them; and none is ſo proper as Amaurot: for as none is more eminent, all the reſt yielding in precedence to this, becauſe it is the ſeat of their ſupreme council; ſo there was none of them better known to me, I having lived five years altogether in it.

It lies upon the ſide of a hill, or rather a riſing ground: its figure is almoſt ſquare, for from the one ſide of it, which ſhoots up almoſt to the top of the hill, it runs down in a deſcent for two miles to the river Anider; but it is a little broader the other way that runs along by the bank of that river. The Anider riſes about eighty miles above Amaurot, in a ſmall ſpring at firſt; but other brooks falling into it, of which two are more conſiderable than the reſt, as it runs by Amaurot, it is grown half a mile broad, but it ſtill grows larger and larger, till after ſixty

miles courſe below it, it is loſt in the ocean, between the town and the ſea, and for ſome miles above the town, it ebbs and flows every ſix hours, with a ſtrong current. The tide comes up for about thirty miles ſo full, that there is nothing but ſalt-water in the river, the freſh water being driven back with its force; and above that, for ſome miles, the water is brackiſh, but a little higher, as it runs by the town, it is quite freſh; and when the tide ebbs, it continues freſh all along to the ſea. There is a bridge caſt over the river, not of timber, but of fair ſtone, conſiſting of many ſtately arches; it lies at that part of the town which is fartheſt from the ſea, ſo that ſhips without any hindrance lie all along the ſide of the town. There is likewiſe another river that runs by it, which though it is not great, yet it runs pleaſantly, for it riſes out of the ſame hill on which the town ſtands, and ſo runs down through it, and falls into the Anider. The inhabitants have fortified the fountain-head of this river, which ſprings a little without the town; that ſo if they ſhould happen to be beſieged, the enemy might not be able to ſtop or divert the courſe of the water, nor poiſon it; from thence it is carried in earthen pipes to the lower ſtreets: and for thoſe places of the town to which the water of that ſmall river cannot be conveyed, they have great ciſterns for receiving the rain-water, which ſupplies the want of the other. The town is compaſſed with a high and thick wall, in which there are many towers and forts; there is alſo a broad and deep dry ditch, ſet thick with thorns, caſt round three ſides of the town, and the river is inſtead of a ditch on the fourth ſide. The ſtreets are very

very convenient for all carriage, and are well ſheltered from the winds. Their buildings are good, and are ſo uniform, that a whole ſide of a ſtreet looks like one houſe. The ſtreets are twenty feet broad; there lie gardens behind all their houſes; theſe are large but encloſed with buildings, that on all hands face the ſtreets; ſo that every houſe has both a door to the ſtreet, and a back door to the garden: their doors have all two leaves, which as they are eaſily opened, ſo they ſhut of their own accord; and there being no property among them, every man may freely enter into any houſe whatſoever. At every ten years end they ſhift their houſes by lots. They cultivate their gardens with great care, ſo that they have both vines, fruits, herbs and flowers in them; and all is ſo well ordered, and ſo finely kept, that I never ſaw gardens any where that were both ſo fruitful and ſo beautiful as theirs. And this humour of ordering their gardens ſo well, is not only kept up by the pleaſure they find in it, but alſo by an emulation between the inhabitants of the ſeveral ſtreets, who vie with each other; and there is indeed nothing belonging to the whole town, that is both more uſeful, and more pleaſant. So that he who founded the town, ſeems to have taken care of nothing more than of their gardens; for they ſay, the whole ſcheme of the town was deſigned at firſt by Utopus, but he left all that belonged to the ornament and improvement of it, to be added by thoſe that ſhould come after him, that being too much for one man to bring to perfection. Their records, that contain the hiſtory of their town and ſtate, are preſerved with an exact care, and run backwards 1760 years.

From theſe it appears, that their houſes were at firſt low and mean, like cottages, made of any ſort of timber, and were built with mud walls, and thatched with ſtraw: but now their houſes are three ſtories high, the fronts of them are faced either with ſtone, plaiſtering, or brick; and between the facings of their walls, they throw in their rubbiſh; their roofs are flat, and on them they lay a ſort of plaiſter which coſts very little, and yet is ſo tempered, that it is not apt to take fire, and yet reſiſts the weather more than lead. They have great quantities of glaſs among them, with which they glaze their windows: they uſe alſo in their windows, a thin linen cloth, that is ſo oiled or gummed, that it both keeps out the wind, and gives free admiſſion to the light.

OF THEIR

MAGISTRATES.

THIRTY families chooſe every year a magiſtrate, who was anciently called the Syphogrant, but is now called the Philarch: and over every ten Syphogrants with the families ſubject to them, there is another magiſtrate, who was anciently called the Tranibore, but of late the Archphilarch. All the Syphogrants, who are in number 200, chooſe the prince out of a liſt of four, who are named by the people of the four diviſions of the city, but they take an oath before they proceed to an election, that they will chooſe him whom they think moſt fit for the office: they give their voices ſecretly, ſo that it is not known for whom every one gives his ſuffrage. The prince is for life, unleſs he is removed upon ſuſpicion of ſome deſign to enſlave the people.

people. The Tranibors are new chosen every year, but yet they are for the most part continued: all their other magistrates are only annual. The Tranibors meet every third day, and oftener if necessary, and consult with the prince, either concerning the affairs of the state in general, or such private differences as may arise sometimes among the people; though that falls out but seldom. There are always two Syphogrants called into the council-chamber, and these are changed every day. It is a fundamental rule of their government, that no conclusion can be made in any thing that relates to the public, till it has been first debated three several days in their council. It is death for any to meet and consult concerning the state, unless it be either in their ordinary council, or in the assembly of the whole body of the people.

These things have been so provided among them, that the Prince and the Tranibors may not conspire together to change the government, and enslave the people; and therefore when any thing of great importance is set on foot, it is sent to the Syphogrants; who after they have communicated it to the families that belong to their divisions, and have considered it among themselves, make report to the senate; and upon great occasions, the matter is referred to the council of the whole island. One rule observed in their council, is, never to debate a thing on the same day in which it is first proposed; for that is always referred to the next meeting, that so men may not rashly, and in the heat of discourse, engage themselves too soon, which might bias them so much, that instead of consulting the good of the public, they might rather study to support their first opinions;

opinions; and by a perverſe and prepoſterous ſort of ſhame, hazard their country, rather than endanger their own reputation, or venture the being ſuſpected to have wanted foreſight in the expedients that they at firſt propoſed. And therefore to prevent this, they take care that they may rather be deliberate, than ſudden in their motions.

OF THEIR TRADES, AND *MANNER OF LIFE.*

AGRICULTURE is that which is ſo univerſally underſtood among them, that no perſon either man or woman, is ignorant of it; they are inſtructed in it from their childhood, partly by what they learn at ſchool, and partly by practice; they being led out often into the fields, about the town, where they not only ſee others at work, but are likewiſe exerciſed in it themſelves. Beſides agriculture, which is ſo common to them all, every man has ſome peculiar trade to which he applies himſelf, ſuch as the manufacture of wool or flax, maſonry, ſmith's work, or carpenter's work; for there is no ſort of trade that is in great eſteem among them. Throughout the iſland they wear the ſame ſort of clothes without any other diſtinction, except what is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh the two ſexes, and the married and unmarried. The faſhion never alters; and as it is neither diſagreeable nor uneaſy, ſo it is ſuited to the climate, and calculated both for their ſummers and winters. Every family makes their own clothes; but all among them,

women

women as well as men, learn one or other of the trades formerly mentioned. Women, for the moſt part, deal in wool and flax, which ſuit beſt with their weakneſs, leaving the ruder trades to the men. The ſame trade generally paſſes down from father to ſon, inclinations often following deſcent: but if any man's genius lies another way, he is by adoption tranſlated into a family that deals in the trade to which he is inclined: and when that is to be done, care is taken not only by his father, but by the magiſtrate, that he may be put to a diſcreet and good man. And if after a perſon has learned one trade, he deſires to acquire another, that is alſo allowed, and is managed in the ſame manner as the former. When he has learned both, he follows that which he likes beſt, unleſs the public has more occaſion for the other.

The chief, and almoſt the only buſineſs of the Syphogrants, is to take care that no man may live idle, but that every man may follow his trade diligently: yet they do not wear themſelves out with perpetual toil, from morning to night, as if they were beaſts of burden, which as it is indeed a heavy ſlavery, ſo it is every where the common courſe of life amongſt all mechanics except the Utopians; but they dividing the day and night into twenty-four hours, appoint ſix of theſe for work; three of which are before dinner, and three after: they then ſup, and at eight o'clock, counting from noon, go to bed and ſleep eight hours. The reſt of their time, beſides that taken up in work, eating and ſleeping is left to every man's diſcretion; yet they are not to abuſe that interval to luxury and idleneſs, but muſt employ it in ſome proper exerciſe according

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ing to their various inclinations, which is for the moſt part reading. It is ordinary to have public lectures every morning before day-break; at which none are obliged to appear, but thoſe who are marked out for literature; yet a great many, both men and women of all ranks, go to hear lectures of one ſort or other, according to their inclinations. But if others, that are not made for contemplation, chooſe rather to employ themſelves at that time in their trades, as many of them do, they are not hindered, but are rather commended, as men that take care to ſerve their country. After ſupper, they ſpend an hour in ſome diverſion, in ſummer in their gardens, and in winter in the halls where they eat; where they entertain each other, either with muſic or diſcourſe. They do not ſo much as know dice, or any ſuch fooliſh and miſchievous games: they have, however, two ſorts of games not unlike our cheſs; the one is between ſeveral numbers, in which one number, as it were conſumes another: the other reſembles a battle between the virtues and the vices, in which the enmity in the vices among themſelves, and their agreement againſt virtue is not unpleaſantly repreſented, together with the ſpecial oppoſitions between the particular virtues and vices; as alſo the methods by which vice either openly aſſaults, or ſecretly undermines virtue; and virtue on the other hand reſiſts it. But the time appointed for labour, is to be narrowly examined, otherwiſe you may imagine, that ſince there are only ſix hours appointed for work, they may fall under a ſcarcity of neceſſary proviſions. But it is ſo far from being true, that this time is not ſufficient for ſupplying them with

with plenty of all things, either neceſſary or convenient, that it is rather too much; and this you will eaſily apprehend, if you conſider how great a part of all other nations is quite idle. Firſt, women generally do little, who are the half of mankind; and if ſome few women are diligent, their huſbands are idle: then conſider the great company of idle prieſts, and of thoſe that are called religious men; add to theſe all rich men, chiefly thoſe that have eſtates in land, who are called noblemen and gentlemen, together with their families, made up of idle perſons, that are kept more for ſhow than uſe. Add to theſe, all thoſe ſtrong and luſty beggars, that go about pretending ſome diſeaſe, in excuſe for their begging; and upon the whole account you will find, that the number of thoſe by whoſe labours mankind is ſupplied, is much leſs than you perhaps imagined: then conſider how few of thoſe that work, are employed in labours that are of real ſervice: for we who meaſure all things by money, give riſe to many trades that are both vain and ſuperfluous, and ſerve only to ſupport riot and luxury. For if thoſe who work, were employed only in ſuch things as the conveniencies of life require, there would be ſuch an abundance of them, that the prices of them would ſo ſink, that tradeſmen could not be maintained by their gains; if all thoſe who labour about uſeleſs things, were ſet to more profitable employments; and if all they that languiſh out their lives in ſloth and idleneſs, every one of whom conſumes as much as any two of the men that are at work, were forced to labour, you may eaſily imagine that a ſmall proportion

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of time would ſerve for doing all that is either neceſſary, profitable, or pleaſant to mankind, eſpecially while pleaſure is kept within its due bounds: this appears very plainly in Utopia, for there, in a great city, and in all the territory that lies round it, you can ſcarce find five hundred, either men or women, by their age and ſtrength capable of labour, that are not engaged in it; even the Syphogrants, though excuſed by the law, yet do not excuſe themſelves, but work, that by their examples they may excite the induſtry of the reſt of the people; the like exemption is allowed to thoſe, who being recommended to the people by the prieſts, are by the ſecret ſuffrages of the Syphogrants, privileged from labour, that they may apply themſelves wholly to ſtudy; and if any of theſe fall ſhort of thoſe hopes that they ſeemed at firſt to give, they are obliged to return to work. And ſometimes a mechanic, that ſo employs his leiſure hours, as to make a conſiderable advancement in learning, is eaſed from being a tradeſman, and ranked among their learned men. Out of theſe they chooſe their ambaſſadors, their prieſts, their Tranibors, and the prince himſelf; anciently called their Barzenes, but he is called of late their Ademus.

And thus from the great numbers among them, that are neither ſuffered to be idle, nor to be employed in any fruitleſs labour, you may eaſily make the eſtimate, how much may be done in thoſe few hours in which they are obliged to labour. But beſides all that has been already ſaid, it is to be conſidered, that the needful arts among them, are managed

managed with leſs labour than any where elſe. The building, or the repairing of houſes among us, employ many hands, becauſe often a thriftleſs heir ſuffers a houſe that his father built, to fall into decay, ſo that his ſucceſſor muſt, at a great coſt, repair that which he might have kept up with a ſmall charge. It frequently happens, that the ſame houſe which one perſon built at a vaſt expence, is neglected by another, who thinks he has a more delicate ſenſe of the beauties of architecture; and he ſuffering it to fall to ruin, builds another at no leſs charge. But among the Utopians, all things are ſo regulated, that men very ſeldom build upon a new piece of ground; and are not only very quick in repairing their houſes, but ſhow their foreſight in preventing their decay: ſo that their buildings are preſerved very long, with but little labour; and thus the builders to whom that care belongs, are often without employment, except the hewing of timber, and the ſquaring of ſtones, that the materials may be in readineſs for raiſing a building very ſuddenly, when there is any occaſion for it. As to their clothes, obſerve how little work is ſpent in them. While they are at labour, they are cloathed with leather and ſkins, caſt carelefly about them, which will laſt ſeven years; and when they appear in public, they put on an upper garment, which hides the other; and theſe are all of one colour, and that is the natural colour of the wool. As they need leſs woollen cloth than is uſed any where elſe, ſo that which they make uſe of is much leſs coſtly. They uſe linen cloth more; but that is prepared with leſs labour, and they value cloth only by the whiteneſs of the linen, or the cleanneſs of the wool, without much regard to the fineneſs

fineneſs of the thread: while in other places, four or five upper garments of woollen cloth, of different colours, and as many veſts of ſilk will ſcarce ſerve one man; and while thoſe that are nicer think ten too few; every man there is content with one, which very often ſerves him two years. Nor is there any thing that can tempt a man to deſire more; for if he had them, he would neither be the warmer, nor would he make one jot the better appearance for it. And thus, ſince they are all employed in ſome uſeful labour; and ſince they content themſelves with fewer things, it falls out that there is a great abundance of all things among them; ſo that it frequently happens, that for want of other work, vaſt numbers are ſent out to mend the highways. But when no public undertaking is to be performed, the hours of working are leſſened. The magiſtrates never engage the people in unneceſſary labour, ſince the chief end of the conſtitution is to regulate labour by the neceſſities of the public, and to allow all the people as much time as is neceſſary for the improvement of their minds, in which they think the happineſs of life conſiſts.

OF THEIR

TRAFFIC.

BUT it is now time to explain to you the mutual intercourſe of this people, their commerce, and the rules by which all things are diſtributed among them.

As

As their cities are compoſed of families, ſo their families are made up of thoſe that are nearly related to one another. Their women, when they grow up, are married out; but all the males, both children and grandchildren, live ſtill in the ſame houſe, in great obedience to their common parent, unleſs age has weakened his underſtanding; and in that caſe he that is next to him in age, comes in his room. But leſt any city ſhould become either too great, or by any accident be diſpeopled, proviſion is made that none of their cities may contain above ſix thouſand families, beſides thoſe of the country round it. No family may have leſs than ten, nor more than ſixteen perſons in it; but there can be no determined number for the children under age. This rule is eaſily obſerved, by removing ſome of the children of a more fruitful couple, to any other family that does not abound ſo much in them. By the ſame rule, they ſupply cities that do not increaſe ſo faſt, from others that breed faſter. And if there is any increaſe over the whole iſland, then they draw out a number of their citizens out of the ſeveral towns, and ſend them over to the neighbouring continent; where, if they find that the inhabitants have more ſoil than they can well cultivate, they fix a colony, taking the inhabitants into their ſociety, if they are willing to live with them; and where they do that of their own accord, they quickly enter into their method of life, and conform to their rules, and this proves a happineſs to both nations; for according to their conſtitution, ſuch care is taken of the ſoil, that it becomes fruitful enough for both, though it might be otherwiſe too narrow and barren for any one of them. But if the natives refuſe to conform themſelves to their laws,

they

they drive them out of thoſe bounds which they mark out for themſelves, and uſe force if they reſiſt. For they account it a very juſt cauſe of war, for a nation to hinder others from poſſeſſing a part of that ſoil, of which they make no uſe, but which is ſuffered to lie idle and uncultivated; ſince every man has by the law of nature a right to ſuch a waſte portion of the earth, as is neceſſary for his ſubſiſtence. If an accident has ſo leſſened the number of the inhabitants of any of their towns, that it cannot be made up from the other towns of the iſland, without diminiſhing them too much, which is ſaid to have fallen out but twice, ſince they were firſt a people, when great numbers were carried off by the plague; the loſs is then ſupplied by recalling as many as are wanted from their colonies; for they will abandon theſe, rather than ſuffer the towns in the iſland to ſink too low.

But to return to their manner of living in ſociety: the oldeſt man of every family, as has been already ſaid, is its governor. Wives ſerve their huſbands, and children their parents, and always the younger ſerves the elder. Every city is divided into four equal parts, and in the middle of each there is a market-place: what is brought thither, and manufactured by the ſeveral families, is carried from thence to houſes appointed for that purpoſe, in which all things of a ſort are laid by themſelves; and thither every father goes and takes whatſoever he or his family ſtand in need of, without either paying for it, or leaving any thing in exchange There is no reaſon for giving a denial to any perſon, ſince there is ſuch plenty of every thing among them: and there is no danger

ger of a man's aſking for more than he needs; they have no inducements to do this, ſince they are ſure that they ſhall always be ſupplied: it is the fear of want that makes any of the whole race of animals, either greedy or ravenous; but beſides fear, there is in man a pride that makes him fancy it a particular glory to excel others in pomp and exceſs. But by the laws of the Utopians, re is no room for this. Near theſe markets there are others for all ſorts of proviſions, where there are not only herbs, fruits, and bread, but alſo fiſh, fowl, and cattle. There are alſo without their towns, places appointed near ſome running water, for killing their beaſts, and for waſhing away their filth; which is done by their ſlaves: for they ſuffer none of their citizens to kill their cattle, becauſe they think, that pity and good nature, which are among the beſt of thoſe affections that are born with us, are much impaired by the butchering of animals: nor do they ſuffer any thing that is foul or unclean to be brought within their towns, leſt the air ſhould be infected by ill ſmells which might prejudice their health. In every ſtreet there are great halls that lie at an equal diſtance from each other, diſtinguiſhed by particular names. The Syphogrants dwell in thoſe, that are ſet over thirty families, fifteen lying on one ſide of it, and as many on the other. In theſe halls they all meet and have their repaſts. The ſtewards of every one of them come to the market-place at an appointed hour; and according to the number of thoſe that belong to the hall, they carry home proviſions. But they take more care of their ſick, than of any others: theſe are

lodged

lodged and provided for in public hoſpitals: they have belonging to every town four hoſpitals, that are built without their walls, and are ſo large, that they may paſs for little towns: by this means, if they had ever ſuch a number of ſick perſons, they could lodge them conveniently, and at ſuch a diſtance, that ſuch of them as are ſick of infectious diſeaſes, may be kept ſo far from the reſt, that there can be no danger of contagion. The hoſpitals are furniſhed and ſtored with all things that are convenient for the eaſe and recovery of the ſick; and thoſe that are put in them, are looked after with ſuch tender and watchful care, and are ſo conſtantly attended by their ſkilful phyſicians; that as none are ſent to them againſt their will, ſo there is ſcarce one in a whole town, that if he ſhould fall ill, would not chooſe rather to go thither, than lie ſick at home.

After the ſteward of the hoſpitals has taken for the ſick whatſoever the phyſician preſcribes, then the beſt things that are left in the market are diſtributed equally among the halls, in proportion to their numbers, only, in the firſt place, they ſerve the prince, the chief prieſt, the Tranibors, the ambaſſadors, and ſtrangers, if there are any, which indeed falls out but ſeldom, and for whom there are houſes well furniſhed, particularly appointed for their reception when they come among them. At the hours of dinner and ſupper, the whole ſyphogranty being called together by ſound of trumpet, they meet and eat together, except only ſuch as are in the hoſpitals, or lie ſick at home. Yet after the halls are ſerved, no man is hindered to carry proviſions home from

from the market-place; for they know that none does that but for ſome good reaſon; for though any that will may eat at home, yet none does it willingly, ſince it is both ridiculous and fooliſh for any to give themſelves the trouble to make ready an ill dinner at home, when there is a much more plentiful one made ready for him ſo near hand. All the uneaſy and ſordid ſervices about theſe halls, are performed by their ſlaves; but the dreſſing and cooking their meat, and the ordering their tables, belong only to the women, all thoſe of every family taking it by turns. They ſit at three or more tables, according to their number; the men ſit towards the wall, and the women ſit on the other ſide, that if any of them ſhould be taken ſuddenly ill, which is no uncommon caſe amongſt women with child, ſhe may, without diſturbing the reſt, riſe and go to the nurſe's room, who are there with the ſucking children; where there is always clean water at hand, and cradles in which they may lay the young children, if there is occaſion for it, and a fire that they may ſhift and dreſs them before it. Every child is nurſed by its own mother, if death or ſickneſs does not intervene; and in that caſe the Syphogrants wives find out a nurſe quickly, which is no hard matter; for any one that can do it, offers herſelf cheerfully: for as they are much inclined to that piece of mercy, ſo the child whom they nurſe, conſiders the nurſe as its mother. All the children under five years old, ſit among the nurſes, the reſt of the younger ſort of both ſexes, till they are fit for marriage, either ſerve thoſe that ſit at table; or if they are not ſtrong enough for that, ſtand by them in great ſilence, and eat what is given them;

nor have they any other formality of dining. In the middle of the firſt table, which ſtands acroſs the upper end of the hall, ſit the Syphogrant and his wife; for that is the chief and moſt conſpicuous place. Next to him ſit two of the moſt ancient, for there go always four to a meſs. If there is a temple within that Syphogranty, the prieſt and his wife ſit with the Syphogrant above all the reſt. Next them there is a mixture of old and young, who are ſo placed, that as the young are ſet near others, ſo they are mixed with the more ancient; which they ſay was appointed on this account, that the gravity of the old people, and the reverence that is due to them, might reſtrain the younger from all indecent words and geſtures. Diſhes are not ſerved up to the whole table at firſt, but the beſt are firſt ſet before the old, whoſe ſeats are diſtinguiſhed from the young, and after them all the reſt are ſerved alike. The old men diſtribute to the younger any curious meats that happen to be ſet before them, if there is not ſuch an abundance of them that the whole company may be ſerved alike.

Thus old men are honored with a particular reſpect; yet all the reſt fare as well as they. Both dinner and ſupper are begun with ſome lecture of morality that is read to them; but it is ſo ſhort, that it is not tedious nor uneaſy to them to hear it. From hence the old men take occaſion to entertain thoſe about them, with ſome uſeful and pleaſant enlargements; but they do not engroſs the whole diſcourſe ſo to themſelves, during their meals, that the younger may not put in for a ſhare; on the contrary, they engage them to talk, that ſo they may in that free

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way of converſation, find out the force of every one's ſpirit, and obſerve his temper. They diſpatch their dinners quickly, but ſit long at ſupper; becauſe they go to work after the one, and are to ſleep after the other, during which they think the ſtomach carries on the concoction more vigorouſly. They never ſup without muſic; and there is always fruit ſerved up after meat; while they are at table, ſome burn perfumes, and ſprinkle about fragrant ointments, and ſweet waters; in ſhort they want nothing that may cheer up their ſpirits. They give themſelves a large allowance that way, and indulge themſelves in all ſuch pleaſures as are attended with no inconvenience. Thus do thoſe that are in the towns live together; but in the country, where they live at great diſtance, every one eats at home, and no family wants any neceſſary ſort of proviſion, for it is from them that proviſions are ſent unto thoſe that live in the towns.

OF THE TRAVELLING OF THE *UTOPIANS.*

IF any man has a mind to viſit his friends that live in ſome other town, or deſires to travel and ſee the reſt of the country, he obtains leave very eaſily from the Syphogrant and Tranibors, when there is no particular occaſion for him at home. Such as travel, carry with them a paſs-

port from the prince, which both certifies the licence that is granted for travelling, and limits the time of their return. They are furniſhed with a waggon and a ſlave, who drives the oxen, and looks after them; but unleſs there are women in the company, the waggon is ſent back at the end of the journey as a needleſs incumbrance. While they are on the road, they carry no proviſions with them; yet they want nothing, but are every where treated as if they were at home. If they ſtay in any place longer than a night, every one follows his proper occupation, and is very well uſed by thoſe of his own trade. But if any man goes out of the city to which he belongs, without leave, and is found rambling without a paſſport, he is ſeverely treated, he is puniſhed as a fugitive, and ſent home diſgracefully; and if he falls again into the like fault, is condemned to ſlavery. If any man has a mind to travel only over the precinct of his own city, he may freely do it with his father's permiſſion, and his wife's conſent; but when he comes into any of the country houſes, if he expects to be entertained by them, he muſt labour with them and conform to their rules: and if he does this, he may freely go over the whole precinct; being thus as uſeful to the city to which he belongs, as if he were ſtill within it. Thus you ſee that there are no idle perſons among them, nor pretences of excuſing any from labour. There are no taverns, no ale houſes nor ſtews among them; nor any other occaſions of corrupting each other, of getting into corners, or forming themſelves into parties. All men live in full view, ſo that all are obliged, both to perform their ordinary taſk, and to employ themſelves well

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in their ſpare hours. And it is certain, that a people thus ordered, muſt live in great abundance of all things; and theſe being equally diſtributed among them, no man can want, or be obliged to beg.

In their great council at Amaurot, to which there are three ſent from every town once a year, they examine what towns abound in proviſions, and what are under any ſcarcity, that ſo the one may be furniſhed from the other; and this is done freely, without any ſort of exchange; for according to their plenty or ſcarcity, they ſupply, or are ſupplied from one another; ſo that indeed the whole iſland is, as it were, one family. When they have thus taken care of their whole country, and laid up ſtores for two years, which they do to prevent the ill conſequences of an unfavourable ſeaſon, they order an exportation of the overplus, both of corn, honey, wool, flax, wood, wax, tallow, leather and cattle; which they ſend out commonly in great quantities to other nations. They order a ſeventh part of all theſe goods to be freely given to the poor of the countries to which they ſend them, and ſell the reſt at moderate rates. And by this exchange, they not only bring back thoſe few things that they need at home (for indeed they ſcarce need any thing but iron) but likewiſe a great deal of gold and ſilver; and by their driving this trade ſo long, it is not to be imagined how vaſt a treaſure they have got among them; ſo that now they do not much care whether they ſell off their merchandize for money in hand, or upon truſt. A great part of their treaſure is now in bonds; but in all their contracts no private man ſtands bound, but the writing runs in the name of the town; and the towns that owe them money, raiſe it from thoſe private hands

that owe it to them, lay it up in their public chamber, or enjoy the profit of it till the Utopians call for it; and they chooſe rather to let the greateſt part of it lie in their hands, who make advantage by it, than to call for it themſelves: But if they ſee that any of their other neighbours ſtand more in need of it, then they call it in and lend it to them: whenever they are engaged in war, which is the only occaſion in which their treaſury can be uſefully employed, they make uſe of it themſelves. In great extremities or ſudden accidents they employ it in hiring foreign troops, whom they more willingly expoſe to danger than their own people: they give them great pay, knowing well that this will work even on their enemies, that it will engage them either to betray their own ſide, or at leaſt to deſert it, and that it is the beſt means of raiſing mutual jealouſies among them: for this end they have an incredible treaſure; but they do not keep it as a treaſure, but in ſuch a manner as I am almoſt afraid to tell, leſt you think it ſo extravagant, as to be hardly credible. This I have the more reaſon to apprehend, becauſe if I had not ſeen it myſelf, I could not have been eaſily perſuaded to have believed it upon any man's report.

It is certain that all things appear incredible to us, in proportion as they differ from our own cuſtoms. But one who can judge aright, will not wonder to find, that ſince their conſtitution differs ſo much from ours, their value of gold and ſilver ſhould be meaſured by a very different ſtandard; for ſince they have no uſe for money among themſelves, but keep it as a proviſion againſt

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events which ſeldom happen, and between which there are generally long intervening intervals; they value it no farther than it deſerves, that is, in proportion to its uſe. So that it is plain, they muſt prefer iron either to gold or ſilver: for men can no more live without iron, than without fire or water; but nature has marked out no uſe for the other metals, ſo eſſential as not eaſily to be diſpenſed with. The folly of men has enhanced the value of gold and ſilver, becauſe of their ſcarcity. Whereas on the contrary, it is their opinion, that nature, as an indulgent parent, has freely given us all the beſt things in great abundance, ſuch as water and earth, but has laid up and hid from us the things that are vain and uſeleſs.

If theſe metals were laid up in any tower in the kingdom, it would raiſe a jealouſy of the prince and ſenate, and give birth to that fooliſh miſtruſt into which the people are apt to fall, a jealouſy of their intending to ſacrifice the intereſt of the public to their own private advantage. If they ſhould work it into veſſels, or any ſort of plate, they fear that the people might grow too fond of it, and ſo be unwilling to let the plate be run down, if a war made it neceſſary to employ it in paying their ſoldiers. To prevent all theſe inconveniencies, they have fallen upon an expedient, which as it agrees with their other policy, ſo is it very different from ours, and will ſcarce gain belief among us, who value gold ſo much, and lay it up ſo carefully. They eat and drink out of veſſels of earth, or glaſs, which make an agreeable appearance, though formed of brittle

materials: while they make their chamber-pots and close-stools of gold and silver; and that not only in their public halls, but in their private houses: of the same metals they likewise make chains and fetters for their slaves; to some of which, as a badge of infamy, they hang an ear-ring of gold, and make others wear a chain or a coronet of the same metal; and thus they take care by all possible means, to render gold and silver of no esteem: and from hence it is, that while other nations part with their gold and silver, as unwillingly as if one tore out their bowels, those of Utopia would look on their giving in all they possess of those metals, (when there were any use for them) but as the parting with a trifle, or as we would esteem the loss of a penny. They find pearls on their coast; and diamonds, and carbuncles on their rocks: they do not look after them; but if they find them by chance, they polish them, and with them they adorn their children, who are delighted with them, and glory in them during their childhood; but when they grow to years, and see that none but children use such baubles, they of their own accord, without being bid by their parents, lay them aside; and would be as much ashamed to use them afterwards, as children among us, when they come to years, are of their puppets, and other toys.

I never saw a clearer instance of the opposite impressions that different customs make on people, than I observed in the ambassadors of the Anemolians, who came to Amaurot when I was there: as they came

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to treat of affairs of great conſequence, the deputies from ſeveral towns met together to wait for their coming. The ambaſſadors of the nations that lie near Utopia, knowing their cuſtoms, and that fine clothes are in no eſteem among them, that ſilk is deſpiſed, and gold is a badge of infamy, uſed to come very modeſtly clothed; but the Anemolians lying more remote, and having had little commerce with them, underſtanding that they were coarſely clothed, and all in the ſame manner, took it for granted that they had none of thoſe fine things among them of which they made no uſe; and they being a vain-glorious, rather than a wiſe people, reſolved to ſet themſelves out with ſo much pomp, that they ſhould look like gods, and ſtrike the eyes of the poor Utopians with their ſplendour. Thus three ambaſſadors made their entry with an hundred attendants, all clad in garments of different colours, and the greater part in ſilk; the ambaſſadors themſelves, who were of the nobility of their country, were in cloth of gold, and adorned with maſſy chains, ear-rings and rings of gold: their caps were covered with bracelets ſet full of pearls and other gems: in a word, they were ſet out with all thoſe things, that, among the Utopians, were either the badges of ſlavery, the marks of infamy, or the play-things of children. It was not unpleaſant to ſee, on the one ſide, how they looked big, when they compared their rich habits with the plain clothes of the Utopians, who were come out in great numbers to ſee them make their entry: and on the other, to obſerve how much they were miſtaken in the

impreſſion,

impreſſion, which they hoped this pomp would have made on them. It appeared ſo ridiculous a ſhew to all that had never ſtirred out of their country, and had not ſeen the cuſtoms of other nations; that though they paid ſome reverence to thoſe that were the moſt meanly clad, as if they had been the ambaſſadors, yet when they ſaw the ambaſſadors themſelves, ſo full of gold and chains, they looked upon them as ſlaves, and forbore to treat them with reverence. You might have ſeen the children, who were grown big enough to deſpiſe their play-things, and who had thrown away their jewels, call to their mothers, puſh them gently, and cry out, "See that great fool that wears pearls "and gems, as if he were yet a child." While their mothers very innocently replied, "Hold your peace, "this I believe is one of the ambaſſador's fools." Others cenſured the faſhion of their chains, and obſerved that they were of no uſe; for they were too ſlight to bind their ſlaves, who could eaſily break them; and beſides hung ſo looſe about them, that they thought it eaſy to throw them away, and ſo get from them. But after the ambaſſadors had ſtaid a day among them, and ſaw ſo vaſt a quantity of gold in their houſes, which was as much deſpiſed by them, as it was eſteemed in other nations, and beheld more gold and ſilver in the chains and fetters of one ſlave, than all their ornaments amounted to, their plumes fell, and they were aſhamed of all that glory for which they had formerly valued themſelves, and accordingly laid it aſide: a reſolution that they immediately took, when on their engaging in

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ſome free diſcourſe with the Utopians, they diſcovered their ſenſe of ſuch things, and their other cuſtoms. The Utopians wonder how any man ſhould be ſo much taken with the glaring doubtful luſtre of a jewel or a ſtone, that can look up to a ſtar, or to the ſun himſelf; or how any ſhould value himſelf, becauſe his cloth is made of a finer thread: for how fine ſoever that thread may be, it was once no better than the fleece of a ſheep, and that ſheep was a ſheep ſtill for all its wearing it. They wonder much to hear, that gold which in itſelf is ſo uſeleſs a thing, ſhould be every where ſo much eſteemed, that even men for whom it was made, and by whom it has its value, ſhould yet be thought of leſs value than this metal: that a man of lead, who has no more ſenſe than a log of wood, and is as bad as he is fooliſh, ſhould have many wiſe and good men to ſerve him, only becauſe he has a great heap of that metal; and that if it ſhould happen, that by ſome accident, or trick of law, (which ſometimes produces as great changes as chance itſelf) all this wealth ſhould paſs from the maſter to the meaneſt varlet of his whole family, he himſelf would very ſoon become one of his ſervants, as if he were a thing that belonged to his wealth, and ſo were bound to follow its fortune. But they much more admire and deteſt the folly of thoſe who when they ſee a rich man, though they neither owe him any thing, nor are in any ſort dependant on his bounty, yet merely becauſe he is rich, give him little leſs than divine honours; even though they know him to be ſo covetous and baſe minded, that notwithſtanding all his wealth,

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he will not part with one farthing of it to them, as long as he lives.

Theſe and ſuch like notions has that people imbibed, partly from their education, being bred in a country, whoſe cuſtoms and laws are oppoſite to all ſuch fooliſh maxims: and partly from their learning and ſtudies: for though there are but few in any town that are ſo wholly excuſed from labour, as to give themſelves entirely up to their ſtudies, theſe being only ſuch perſons as diſcover from their childhood an extraordinary capacity and diſpoſition for letters; yet their children, and a great part of the nation, both men and women, are taught to ſpend thoſe hours in which they are not obliged to work, in reading: and this they do through the whole progreſs of life. They have all their learning in their own tongue; which is both a copious and pleaſant language, and in which a man can fully expreſs his mind: It runs over a great tract of many countries, but it is not equally pure in all places: they had never ſo much as heard of the names of any of thoſe philoſophers that are ſo famous in theſe parts of the world, before we went among them: and yet they had made the ſame diſcoveries as the Greeks, both in muſic, logic, arithmetic, and geometry. But as they are almoſt in every thing equal to the ancient philoſophers, ſo they far exceed our modern logicians; for they have never yet fallen upon the barbarous niceties that our youth are forced to learn in thoſe trifling logical ſchools that are among us: they are ſo far from minding chimeras, and fantaſtical images made in the mind, that none of them could

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comprehend what we meant, when we talked to them of a man in the abſtract, as common to all men in particular, (ſo that though we ſpoke of him as a thing that we could point at with our fingers, yet none of them could perceive him) and yet diſtinct from every one, as if he were ſome monſtrous coloſſus, or giant. Yet for all this ignorance of theſe empty notions, they knew aſtronomy, and were perfectly acquainted with the motions of the heavenly bodies; and have many inſtruments, well contrived and divided, by which they very accurately compute the courſe and poſitions of the ſun, moon and ſtars. But for the cheat, of divining by the ſtars, by their oppoſitions or conjunctions, it has not ſo much as entered into their thoughts. They have a particular ſagacity, founded upon much obſervation, in judging of the weather, by which they know when they may look for rain, wind, or other alterations in the air: but as to the philoſophy of theſe things; the cauſes of the ſaltneſs of the ſea, of its ebbing and flowing, and of the original and nature both of the heavens and the earth; they diſpute of them, partly as our ancient philoſophers have done, and partly upon ſome new hypotheſis, in which, as they differ from them, ſo they do not in all things agree among themſelves

As to moral philoſophy, they have the ſame diſputes among them as we have here. They examine what are properly good, both for the body and the mind; and whether any outward thing can be called truly good, or if that term belong only to the endowments of the ſoul. They enquire likewiſe into the nature of virtue and pleaſure; but their chief

chief diſpute is, concerning the happineſs of a man, and wherein it conſiſts;—whether in ſome one thing, or in a great many. They ſeem indeed more inclinable to that opinion that places, if not the whole, yet the chief part of a man's happineſs in pleaſure; and, what may ſeem more ſtrange, they make uſe of arguments even from religion, notwithſtanding its ſeverity and roughneſs, for the ſupport of that opinion, ſo indu'gent to pleaſure: for they never diſpute concerning happineſs without fetching ſome arguments from the principles of religion, as well as from natural reaſon; ſince without the former they reckon that all our enquiries after happineſs muſt be but conjectural and defective.

Theſe are their religious principles; that the ſoul of man is immortal, and that God of his goodneſs has deſigned that it ſhould be happy; and that he has therefore appointed rewards for good and virtuous actions, and puniſhments for vice, to be diſtributed after this life. Though theſe principles of religion are conveyed down among them by tradition, they think, that even reaſon itſelf determines a man to believe and acknowledge them: and freely confeſs, that if theſe were taken away, no man would be ſo inſenſible, as not to ſeek after pleaſure by all poſſible means, lawful or unlawful; uſing only this caution, that a leſſer pleaſure might not ſtand in the way of a greater, and that no pleaſure ought to be purſued, that ſhould draw a great deal of pain after it: for they think it the maddeſt thing in the world to purſue virtue, that is a ſour and difficult thing; and not only to renounce the pleaſures of life, but willingly to undergo much pain and trouble,

trouble, if a man has no proſpect of a reward. And what reward can there be, for one that has paſſed his whole life, not only without pleaſure, but in pain, if there is nothing to be expected after death? Yet they do not place happineſs in all ſorts of pleaſures, but only in thoſe that in themſelves are good and honeſt.

There is a party among them who place happineſs in bare virtue; others think that our natures are conducted by virtue to happineſs, as that which is the chief good of man. They define virtue thus, that it is a living according to nature; and think that we are made by God for that end; they believe that a man then follows the dictates of nature, when he purſues or avoids things according to the direction of reaſon: they ſay, that the firſt dictate of reaſon is, the kindling in us a love and reverence for the Divine Majeſty, to whom we owe both all that we have, and all that we can ever hope for. In the next place, reaſon directs us to keep our minds as free from paſſion, and as cheerful, as we can; and that we ſhould conſider ourſelves as bound by the ties of good-nature and humanity, to uſe our utmoſt endeavors to help forward the happineſs of all other perſons; for there never was any man ſuch a moroſe and ſevere purſuer of virtue, ſuch an enemy to pleaſure, that, though he ſet hard rules for men to undergo, much pain, many watchings, and other rigors, yet did not at the ſame time adviſe them to do all they could in order to relieve and eaſe the miſerable, and who did not repreſent gentleneſs and good-nature as amiable diſpoſitions. And from thence they infer, that if a man ought to advance the welfare and comfort of the reſt

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of mankind, there being no virtue more proper and peculiar to our nature, than to eaſe the miſeries of others, to free from trouble and anxiety, in furniſhing them with the comforts of life, in which pleaſure conſiſts, nature much more vigorouſly leads him to do all this for himſelf. A life of pleaſure is either a real evil (and in that caſe we ought not to aſſiſt others in their purſuit of it, but, on the contrary, to keep them from it all we can, as from that which is moſt hurtful and deadly), or if it is a good thing, ſo that we not only may, but ought, to help others to it, why then ought not a man to begin with himſelf; ſince no man can be more bound to look after the good of another than after his own; for nature cannot direct us to be good and kind to others, and yet at the ſame time to be unmerciful and cruel to ourſelves? Thus, as they define virtue to be living according to nature, ſo they imagine that nature prompts all people on to ſeek after pleaſure, as the end of all they do. They alſo obſerve, that in order to our ſupporting the pleaſures of life, nature inclines us to enter into ſociety; for there is no man ſo much raiſed above the reſt of mankind as to be the only favorite of nature, who, on the contrary, ſeems to have placed on a level all thoſe that belong to the ſame ſpecies. Upon this they infer, that no man ought to ſeek his own conveniencies ſo eagerly as to prejudice others; and therefore they think, that not only all agreements between private perſons ought to be obſerved, but likewiſe, that all thoſe laws ought to be kept, which either a good prince has publiſhed in due form, or to which a people, that is neither oppreſſed with tyranny, nor circumvented by fraud, has con-

conſented, for diſtributing thoſe conveniencies of life which afford us all our pleaſures.

They think it is an evidence of true wiſdom, for a man to purſue his own advantages, as far as the laws allow it. They account it piety, to prefer the public good to one's private concerns; but they think it unjuſt, for a man to ſeek for pleaſure, by ſnatching another man's pleaſures from him. And on the contrary, they think it a ſign of a gentle and good ſoul, for a man to diſpenſe with his own advantage for the good of others; and that by this means, a good man finds as much pleaſure one way, as he parts with another; for as he may expect the like from others when he may come to need it, ſo if that ſhould fail him, yet the ſenſe of a good action, and the reflections that he makes on the love and gratitude of thoſe whom he has ſo obliged, gives the mind more pleaſure, than the body could have found in that from which it had reſtrained itſelf: they are alſo perſuaded that God will make up the loſs of thoſe ſmall pleaſures, with a vaſt and endleſs joy, of which religion eaſily convinces a good ſoul.

Thus upon an enquiry into the whole matter, they reckon that all our actions, and even all our virtues terminate in pleaſure, as in our chief end and greateſt happineſs; and they call every motion or ſtate, either of body or mind, in which nature teaches us to delight, a pleaſure. Thus they cautiouſly limit pleaſure, only to thoſe appetites to which nature leads us; for they ſay that nature leads us only to thoſe delights to which

reaſon as well as ſenſe carries us, and by which we neither injure any other perſon, nor loſe the poſſeſſion of greater pleaſures, and of ſuch as draw no troubles after them; but they look upon thoſe delights which men by a fooliſh, though common, miſtake, call pleaſure, as if they could change as eaſily the nature of things, as the uſe of words, as things that greatly obſtruct their real happineſs, inſtead of advancing it, becauſe they ſo entirely poſſeſs the minds of thoſe that are once captivated by them, with a falſe notion of pleaſure, that there is no room left for pleaſures of a truer or purer kind.

There are many things that in themſelves have nothing that is truly delightful: on the contrary, they have a good deal of bitterneſs in them: and yet from our perverſe appetites after forbidden objects, are not only ranked among the pleaſures, but are made even the greateſt deſigns of life. Among thoſe who purſue theſe ſophiſticated pleaſures, they reckon ſuch as I mentioned before, who think themſelves really the better for having fine clothes; in which they think they are doubly miſtaken, both in the opinion that they have of their clothes, and in that they have of themſelves; for if you conſider the uſe of clothes, why ſhould a fine thread be thought better than a coarſe one? And yet theſe men, as if they had ſome real advantages beyond others, and did not owe them wholly to their miſtakes, look big, ſeem to fancy themſelves to be more valuable, and imagine that a reſpect is due to them for the ſake of a rich garment, to which they would not have

have pretended, if they had been more meanly clothed; and even reſent it as an affront, if that reſpect is not paid them. It is alſo a great folly to be taken with outward marks of reſpect, which ſignify nothing: for what true or real pleaſure can one man find in another's ſtanding bare, or making legs to him? Will the bending another man's knees give eaſe to yours? And will the head's being bare cure the madneſs of yours? And yet it is wonderful to ſee how this falſe notion of pleaſure bewitches many, who delight themſelves with the fancy of their nobility, and are pleaſed with this conceit, that they are deſcended from anceſtors, who have been held for ſome ſucceſſions rich, and who have had great poſſeſſions; for this is all that makes nobility at preſent: yet they do not think themſelves a whit the leſs noble, though their immediate parents have left none of this wealth to them; or though they themſelves have ſquandered it away. The Utopians have no better opinion of thoſe, who are much taken with gems and precious ſtones, and who account it a degree of happineſs, next to a divine one, if they can purchaſe one that is very extraordinary; eſpecially if it be of that ſort of ſtones, that is then in greateſt requeſt; for the ſame ſort is not at all times univerſally of the ſame value; nor will men buy it, unleſs it be diſmounted and taken out of the gold; the jeweller is then made to give good ſecurity, and required ſolemnly to ſwear that the ſtone is true, that by ſuch an exact caution, a falſe one might not be bought inſtead of a true: though if you were to examine it, your eye could find no dif-

ference between the counterfeit, and that which is true; ſo that they are all one to you as much as if you were blind. Or can it be thought that they who heap up an uſeleſs maſs of wealth, not for any uſe that it is to bring them, but merely to pleaſe themſelves with the contemplation of it, enjoy any true pleaſure in it? The delight they find, is only a falſe ſhadow of joy: thoſe are no better, whoſe error is ſomewhat different from the former, and who hide it, out of their fear of loſing it; for what other name can fit the hiding it in the earth, or rather the reſtoring it to it again, it being thus cut off from being uſeful, either to its owner, or to the reſt of mankind? And yet the owner having hid it carefully, is glad, becauſe he thinks he is now ſure of it. If it ſhould be ſtole, the owner, though he might live perhaps ten years after the theft, of which he knew nothing, would find no difference between his having, or loſing it; for both ways it was equally uſeleſs to him.

Among thoſe fooliſh purſuers of pleaſure, they reckon all that delight in hunting, in fowling, or gaming: of whoſe madneſs they have only heard, for they have no ſuch things among them: but they have aſked us, what ſort of pleaſure is it that men can find in throwing the dice? For if there were any pleaſure in it, they think the doing it ſo often ſhould give one a ſurfeit of it: and what pleaſure can one find in hearing the barking and howling of dogs, which ſeem rather odious than pleaſant ſounds? Nor can they comprehend the pleaſure of ſeeing dogs run after a hare, more than of ſeeing one dog run after another; for if the ſeeing them run is that which gives

the pleaſure, you have the ſame entertainment to the eye on both theſe occaſions; ſince that is the ſame in both caſes: but if the pleaſure lies in ſeeing the hare killed and torn by the dogs, this ought rather to ſtir pity, that a weak, harmleſs and fearful hare, ſhould be devoured by ſtrong, fierce, and cruel dogs. Therefore all this buſineſs of hunting, is, among the Utopians, turned over to their butchers; and thoſe, as has been already ſaid, are all ſlaves: and they look on hunting, as one of the baſeſt parts of a butcher's work: for they account it both more profitable, and more decent to kill thoſe beaſts that are more neceſſary and uſeful to mankind; whereas the killing and tearing of ſo ſmall and miſerable an animal, can only attract the huntſman with a falſe ſhow of pleaſure, from which he can reap but ſmall advantage. They look on the deſire of the bloodſhed, even of beaſts, as a mark of a mind that is already corrupted with cruelty, or that at leaſt by the frequent returns of ſo brutal a pleaſure, muſt degenerate into it.

Thus, though the rabble of mankind look upon theſe, and on innumerable other things of the ſame nature, as pleaſures; the Utopians on the contrary obſerving, that there is nothing in them truly pleaſant, conclude, that they are not to be reckoned among pleaſures: for though theſe things may create ſome tickling in the ſenſes, (which ſeems to be a true notion of pleaſure) yet they imagine that this does not ariſe from the thing itſelf, but from a depraved cuſtom, which may ſo vitiate a man's taſte, that bitter things may paſs for ſweet; as women with child think pitch or tallow taſte ſweeter

than honey; but as a man's ſenſe when corrupted, either by a diſeaſe, or ſome ill habit, does not change the nature of other things, ſo neither can it change the nature of pleaſure.

They reckon up ſeveral ſorts of pleaſures, which they call true ones: ſome belong to the body, and others to the mind. The pleaſures of the mind lie in knowledge, and in that delight which the contemplation of truth carries with it; to which they add the joyful reflections on a well-ſpent life, and the aſſured hopes of a future happineſs. They divide the pleaſures of the body into two ſorts; the one is that which gives our ſenſes ſome real delight, and is performed, either by recruiting nature, and ſupplying thoſe parts which feed the internal heat of life by eating and drinking: or when nature is eaſed of any ſurcharge that oppreſſes it; when we are relieved from ſudden pain, or that which ariſes from ſatisfying the appetite which nature has wiſely given to lead us to the propagation of the ſpecies. There is another kind of pleaſure that ariſes neither from our receiving what the body requires, nor its being relieved when overcharged, and yet by a ſecret, unſeen virtue affects the ſenſes, raiſes the paſſions, and ſtrikes the mind with generous impreſſions; this is the pleaſure that ariſes from muſic. Another kind of bodily pleaſure is that, which reſults from an undiſturbed and vigorous conſtitution of body, when life and active ſpirits ſeem to actuate every part. This lively health, when entirely free from all mixture of pain, of itſelf gives

gives an inward pleaſure, independent of all external objects of delight; and though this pleaſure does not ſo powerfully affect us, nor act ſo ſtrongly on the ſenſes as ſome of the others, yet it may be eſteemed as the greateſt of all pleaſures, and almoſt all the Utopians reckon it the foundation and baſis of all the other joys of life; ſince this alone makes the ſtate of life eaſy and deſirable; and when this is wanting, a man is really capable of no other pleaſure. They look upon freedom from pain, if it does not riſe from perfect health, to be a ſtate of ſtupidity, rather than of pleaſure. This ſubject has been very narrowly canvaſſed among them; and it has been debated whether a firm and entire health could be called a pleaſure, or not? Some have thought that there was no pleaſure, but what was excited by ſome ſenſible motion in the body. But this opinion has been long ago excluded from among them, ſo that now they almoſt univerſally agree, That health is the greateſt of all bodily pleaſures; and that as there is a pain in ſickneſs, which is as oppoſite in its nature to pleaſure, as ſickneſs itſelf is to health; ſo they hold, that health is accompanied with pleaſure: and if any ſhould ſay, that ſickneſs is not really pain, but that it only carries pain along with it, they look upon that as a fetch of ſubtilty, that does not much alter the matter. It is all one in their opinion, whether it be ſaid, that health is in itſelf a pleaſure, or that it begets a pleaſure, as fire gives heat; ſo it be granted, that all thoſe whoſe health is entire, have a true pleaſure in the enjoyment of it: and they reaſon thus, What is the plea-

ſure of eating, but that a man's health which had been weakened, does, with the aſſiſtance of food, drive away hunger, and ſo recruiting itſelf, recovers its former vigour? And being thus refreſhed, it finds a pleaſure in that conflict: and if the conflict is pleaſure, the victory muſt yet breed a greater pleaſure, except we fancy that it becomes ſtupid as ſoon as it has obtained that which it purſued, and ſo neither knows nor rejoices in its own welfare. If it is ſaid, that health cannot be felt, they abſolutely deny it; for what man is in health, that does not perceive it when he is awake? Is there any man that is ſo dull and ſtupid, as not to acknowledge that he feels a delight in health? And what is delight, but another name for pleaſure?

But of all pleaſures, they eſteem thoſe to be moſt valuable that lie in the mind; the chief of which ariſe out of true virtue, and the witneſs of a good conſcience. They account health the chief pleaſure that belongs to the body; for they think that the pleaſure of eating and drinking, and all the other delights of ſenſe, are only ſo far deſirable, as they give or maintain health: but they are not pleaſant in themſelves, otherwiſe than as they reſiſt thoſe impreſſions that our natural infirmities are ſtill making upon us: for as a wiſe man deſires rather to avoid diſeaſes, than to take phyſic; and to be free from pain, rather than to find eaſe by remedies; ſo it is more deſirable, not to need this ſort of pleaſure, than to be obliged to indulge it. If any man imagines that there is a real happineſs in theſe enjoyments, he muſt then confeſs that he would be the happieſt of all men,

men, if he were to lead his life in perpetual hunger, thirſt, and itching, and by conſequence in perpetual eating, drinking, and ſcratching himſelf; which any one may eaſily ſee would be not only a baſe but a miſerable ſtate of a life. Theſe are indeed the loweſt of pleaſures, and the leaſt pure: for we can never reliſh them, but when they are mixed with the contrary pains. The pain of hunger muſt give us the pleaſure of eating; and here the pain out-balances the pleaſure: and as the pain is more vehement, ſo it laſts much longer; for as it begins before the pleaſure, ſo it does not ceaſe, but with the pleaſure that extinguiſhes it, and both expire together: they think, therefore, none of thoſe pleaſures are to be valued, any further than as they are neceſſary; yet they rejoice in them, and with due gratitude acknowledge the tenderneſs of the great Author of nature, who has planted in us appetites, by which thoſe things that are neceſſary for our preſervation, are likewiſe made pleaſant to us. For how miſerable a thing would life be, if thoſe daily diſeaſes of hunger and thirſt, were to be carried off by ſuch bitter drugs, as we muſt uſe for thoſe diſeaſes that return ſeldomer upon us? And thus theſe pleaſant as well as proper gifts of nature, maintain the ſtrength and the ſprightlineſs of our bodies.

They alſo entertain themſelves with the other delights let in at their eyes, their ears, and their noſtrils, as the pleaſant reliſhes and ſeaſonings of life, which nature ſeems to have marked out peculiarly for man: ſince no other ſort of animals contemplates the figure and beauty of the univerſe; nor is delighted with ſmells, any farther than

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as they diſtinguiſh meats by them; nor do they apprehend the concords or diſcords of ſound; yet in all pleaſures whatſoever, they take care that a leſſer joy does not hinder a greater, and that pleaſure may never breed pain, which they think always follows diſhoneſt pleaſures. But they think it madneſs for a man to wear out the beauty of his face, or the force of his natural ſtrength; to corrupt the ſprightlineſs of his body by ſloth and lazineſs, or to waſte it by faſting; that it is madneſs to weaken the ſtrength of his conſtitution, and reject the other delights of life; unleſs by renouncing his own ſatisfaction, he can either ſerve the public, or promote the happineſs of others, for which he expects a greater recompence from God. So that they look on ſuch a courſe of life, as the mark of a mind that is both cruel to itſelf, and ungrateful to the Author of nature, as if we would not be beholden to him for his favours, and therefore reject all his bleſſings; as one who ſhould afflict himſelf for the empty ſhadow of virtue; or for no better end, than to render himſelf capable of bearing theſe misfortunes which poſſibly will never happen.

This is their notion of virtue and of pleaſure; they think that no man's reaſon can carry him to a truer idea of them, unleſs ſome diſcovery from heaven ſhould inſpire him with ſublimer notions. I have not now the leiſure to examine, whether they think right or wrong in this matter: nor do I judge it neceſſary, for I have only undertaken to give you an account of their conſtitution, but not to defend all their principles. I am ſure, that whatſoever may be ſaid of their notions, there is not in the

the whole world, either a better people or a happier government: their bodies are vigorous and lively; and though they are but of a middle ſtature, and have neither the fruitfulleſt ſoil, nor the pureſt air in the world; yet they fortify themſelves ſo well by their temperate courſe of life, againſt the unhealthineſs of their air, and by their induſtry they ſo cultivate their ſoil, that there is no where to be ſeen a greater increaſe, both of corn and cattle, nor are there any where healthier men, and freer from diſeaſes: for one may there ſee reduced to practice, not only all the art that the huſbandman employs in manuring and improving an ill ſoil, but whole woods plucked up by the roots, and in other places new ones planted, where there were none before. Their principal motive for this, is the convenience of carriage, that their timber may be either near their towns, or growing on the banks of the ſea, or of ſome rivers, ſo as to be floated tothem; for it is a harder work to carry wood at any diſtance over land, than corn. The people are induſtrious, apt to learn, as well as cheerful and pleaſant; and none can endure more labour, when it is neceſſary; but except in that caſe they love their eaſe. They are unwearied purſuers of knowledge; for when we had given them ſome hints of the learning and diſcipline of the Greeks, concerning whom we only inſtructed them, (for we know that there was nothing among the Romans, except their hiſtorians and their poets, that they would value much) it was ſtrange to ſee how eagerly they were ſet on learning that language: we began to read a little of it to them, rather in compliance with their importunity,

portunity, than out of any hopes of their reaping from it any great advantage: but after a very ſhort trial, we found they made ſuch progreſs, that we ſaw our labour was like to be more ſucceſsful than we could have expected. They learned to write their characters, and to pronounce their language ſo exactly, had ſo quick an apprehenſion, they remembered it ſo faithfully, and became ſo ready and correct in the uſe of it, that it would have looked like a miracle, if the greater part of thoſe whom we taught had not been men both of extraordinary capacity, and of a fit age for inſtruction: they were for the greateſt part choſen from among their learned men, by their chief counſel, though ſome ſtudied it of their own accord. In three years time they became maſters of the whole language, ſo that they read the beſt of the Greek authors very exactly. I am indeed apt to think, that they learned that language the more eaſily, from its having ſome relation to their own: I believe that they were a colony of the Greeks; for though their language comes nearer the Perſian, yet they retain many names, both for their towns and magiſtrates, that are of Greek derivation. I happened to carry a great many books with me, inſtead of merchandiſe, when I ſailed my fourth voyage; for I was ſo far from thinking of ſoon coming back, that I rather thought never to have returned at all, and I gave them all my books, among which were many of Plato's and ſome of Ariſtotle's works. I had alſo Theophraſtus on plants, which to my great regret, was imperfect: for having laid it careleſsly by while we were at ſea, a monkey had ſeized upon

upon it and in many places torn out the leaves. They have no books of grammar, but Laſcares, for I did not carry Theodorus with me; nor have they any dictionaries but Heſichius and Dioſcorides. They eſteem Plutarch highly, and were much taken with Lucian's wit, and with his pleaſant way of writing. As for the poets, they have Ariſtophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles of Aldus's edition; and for hiſtorians, Thucidides, Herodotus and Herodian. One of my companions, Thricius Apinatus, happened to carry with him ſome of Hippocrates's works, and Galen's Microtechne, which they hold in great eſtimation; for though there is no nation in the world that needs phyſic ſo little as they do, yet there is not any that honours it ſo much: they reckon the knowledge of it one of the pleaſanteſt and moſt profitable parts of philoſophy, by which, as they ſearch into the ſecrets of nature, ſo they not only find this ſtudy highly agreeable, but think that ſuch enquiries are very acceptable to the Author of nature; and imagine, that as he, like the inventors of curious engines amongſt mankind, has expoſed this great machine of the univerſe, to the view of the only creatures capable of contemplating it, ſo an exact and curious obſerver, who admires his workmanſhip, is much more acceptable to him than one of the herd, who like a beaſt incapable of reaſon, looks on this glorious ſcene with the eyes of a dull and unconcerned ſpectator.

The minds of the Utopians, when fenced with a love for learning, are very ingenious in diſcovering all ſuch arts as are neceſſary to carry it to perfection. Two things they

they owe to us, the manufacture of paper, and the art of printing: yet they are not ſo entirely indebted to us for theſe diſcoveries, but that a greater part of the invention was their own. We ſhewed them ſome books printed by Aldus, we explained to them the way of making paper, and the myſtery of printing; but as we had never practiſed theſe arts, we deſcribed them in a crude and ſuperficial manner. They ſeized the hints we gave them, and though at firſt they could not arrive at perfection, yet by making many eſſays, they at laſt found out, and corrected all their errors, and conquered every difficulty. Before this they only wrote on parchment, on reeds, or on the barks of trees; but now they have eſtabliſhed the manufactures of paper, and ſet up printing-preſſes, ſo that if they had but a good number of Greek authors, they would be quickly ſupplied with many copies of them: at preſent, though they have no more than thoſe I have mentioned, yet by ſeveral impreſſions, they have multiplied them into many thouſands. If any man was to go among them, that had ſome extraordinary talent, or that by much travelling had obſerved the cuſtoms of many nations, (which made us to be ſo well received) he would receive a hearty welcome; for they are very deſirous to know the ſtate of the whole world. Very few go among them on the account of traffic, for what can a man carry to them but iron, or gold, or ſilver, which merchants deſire rather to export, than import to a ſtrange country: and as for their exportation, they think it better to manage that themſelves, than to leave it to foreigners, for by this means, as they underſtand

ſtand the ſtate of the neighbouring countries better, ſo they keep up the art of navigation, which cannot be maintained but by much practice.

OF THEIR SLAVES,

AND OF THEIR

MARRIAGES.

THEY do not make ſlaves of priſoners of war, except thoſe that are taken in battle; nor of the ſons of their ſlaves, nor of thoſe of other nations: the ſlaves among them, are only ſuch as are condemned to that ſtate of life for the commiſſion of ſome crime, or which is more common, ſuch as their merchants find condemned to die in thoſe parts to which they trade, whom they ſometimes redeem at low rates; and in other places have them for nothing. They are kept at perpetual labour, and are always chained, but with this difference, that their own natives are treated much worſe than others; they are conſidered as more profligate than the reſt, and ſince they could not be reſtrained by the advantages of ſo excellent an education, are judged worthy of harder uſage. Another ſort of ſlaves, are the poor of the neighbouring countries, who offer of their own accord to come and ſerve them; they treat theſe better, and uſe them in all other reſpects, as well as their own countrymen, except

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their impoſing more labour upon them, which is no hard taſk to thoſe that have been accuſtomed to it; and if any of theſe have a mind to go back to their own country, which indeed falls out but ſeldom, as they do not force them to ſtay, ſo they do not ſend them away empty handed.

I have already told you with what care they look after their ſick, ſo that nothing is left undone that can contribute either to their eaſe or health: and for thoſe who are taken with fixed and incurable diſeaſes, they uſe all poſſible ways to cheriſh them, and to make their lives as comfortable as poſſible: they viſit them often, and take great pains to make their time paſs off eaſily: but when any is taken with a torturing and lingering pain, ſo that there is no hope, either of recovery or eaſe, the prieſts and magiſtrates come and exhort them, that ſince they are now unable to go on with the buſineſs of life, are become a burden to themſelves, and to all about them, and they have really outlived themſelves, they ſhould no longer nouriſh ſuch a rooted diſtemper, but chooſe rather to die, ſince they cannot live, but in much miſery; being aſſured, that if they thus deliver themſelves from torture, or are willing that others ſhould do it, they ſhall be happy after death. Since by their acting thus, they loſe none of the pleaſures, but only the troubles of life; they think they behave not only reaſonably, but in a manner conſiſtent with religion and piety; becauſe they follow the advice given them by their prieſts, who are the expounders of the will of God. Such as are wrought on by theſe perſuaſions, either ſtarve themſelves

themſelves of their own accord, or take opium, and by that means die without pain. But no man is forced on this way of ending his life; and if they cannot be perſuaded to it, this does not induce them to fail in their attendance and care of them: but as they believe that a voluntary death, when it is choſen upon ſuch an authority, is very honourable; ſo if any man takes away his own life, without the approbation of the prieſts and the ſenate, they give him none of the honours of a decent funeral, but throw his body into a ditch.

Their women are not married before eighteen, nor their men before two and twenty; and if any of them run into forbidden embraces before marriage, they are ſeverely puniſhed, and the privilege of marriage is denied them, unleſs they can obtain a ſpecial warrant from the prince. Such diſorders caſt a great reproach upon the maſter and miſtreſs of the family in which they happen; for it is ſuppoſed, that they have failed in their duty. The reaſon of puniſhing this ſo ſeverely, is, becauſe they think that if they were not ſtrictly reſtrained from all vagrant appetites, very few would engage in a ſtate in which they venture the quiet of their whole lives, by being confined to one perſon, and are obliged to endure all the inconveniences with which it is accompanied. In chooſing their wives, they uſe a method that would appear to us very abſurd and ridiculous, but it is conſtantly obſerved among them, and is accounted perfectly conſiſtent with wiſdom. Before marriage, ſome grave matron preſents the bride naked, whether ſhe is a virgin or a widow, to the bridegroom; and after that, ſome

grave man preſents the bridegroom naked to the bride. We indeed both laughed at this, and condemned it as very indecent. But they, on the other hand, wondered at the folly of the men of all other nations; who if they are but to buy a horſe of a ſmall value, are ſo cautious, that they will ſee every part of him, and take off both his ſaddle, and all his other tackle, that there may be no ſecret ulcer hid under any of them; and that yet in the choice of a wife, on which depends the happineſs or unhappineſs of the reſt of his life, a man ſhould venture upon truſt, and only ſee about an hands-breadth of the face, all the reſt of the body being covered; under which there may lie hid what may be contagious, as well as loathſome. All men are not ſo wiſe, as to chooſe a woman only for her good qualities; and even wiſe men conſider the body, as that which adds not a little to the mind: and it is certain, there may be ſome ſuch deformity covered with the clothes, as may totally alienate a man from his wife, when it is too late to part with her: if ſuch a thing is diſcovered after marriage, a man has no remedy but patience: they therefore think it is reaſonable, that there ſhould be good proviſion made againſt ſuch miſchievous frauds.

There was ſo much the more reaſon for them to make a regulation in this matter, becauſe they are the only people of thoſe parts that neither allow of polygamy, nor of divorces, except in the caſe of adultery, or inſufferable perverſeneſs: for in theſe caſes the ſenate diſſolves the marriage, and grants the injured perſon leave to marry again; but the guilty are made infamous, and are never

never allowed the privilege of a ſecond marriage. None are ſuffered to put away their wives againſt their wills, from any great calamity that may have fallen on their perſons, for they look on it as the height of cruelty and treachery to abandon either of the married perſons, when they need moſt the tender care of their conſort; and that chiefly in the caſe of old age, which as it carries many diſeaſes along with it, ſo it is a diſeaſe of itſelf. But it frequently falls out, that when a married couple do not well agree, they by mutual conſent ſeparate, and find out other perſons with whom they hope they may live more happily: yet this is not done, without obtaining leave of the ſenate; which never admits of a divorce, but upon a ſtrict enquiry made, both by the ſenators and their wives, into the grounds upon which it is deſired; and even when they are ſatisfied concerning the reaſons of it, they go on but ſlowly, for they imagine that too great eaſineſs, in granting leave for new marriages, would very much ſhake the kindneſs of married people. They puniſh ſeverely thoſe that defile the marriage-bed: If both parties are married, they are divorced, and the injured perſons may marry one another, or whom they pleaſe; but the adulterer and the adultereſs are condemned to ſlavery. Yet if either of the injured perſons cannot ſhake off the love of the married perſon, they may live with them ſtill in that ſtate; but they muſt follow them to that labour to which the ſlaves are condemned; and ſometimes the repentance of the condemned, together with the unſhaken kindneſs of the innocent and injured perſon, has prevailed ſo far with the

prince, that he has taken off the ſentence: but thoſe that relapſe, after they are once pardoned, are puniſhed with death.

Their law does not determine the puniſhment for other crimes; but that is left to the ſenate, to temper it according to the circumſtances of the fact. Huſbands have power to correct their wives, and parents to chaſtiſe their children, unleſs the fault is ſo great, that a public puniſhment is thought neceſſary for ſtriking terror into others. For the moſt part, ſlavery is the puniſhment even of the greateſt crimes; for as that is no leſs terrible to the criminals themſelves than death, ſo they think the preſerving them in a ſtate of ſervitude, is more for the intereſt of the common-wealth, than killing them: ſince as their labour is a greater benefit to the public, than their death could be; ſo the ſight of their miſery is a more laſting terror to other men, than that which would be given by their death. If their ſlaves rebel, and will not bear their yoke, and ſubmit to the labour that is enjoined them, they are treated as wild beaſts that cannot be kept in order, neither by a priſon, nor by their chains; and are at laſt put to death. But thoſe who bear their puniſhment patiently, and are ſo much wrought on by that preſſure, that lies ſo hard on them, that it appears they are really more troubled for the crimes they have committed, than for the miſeries they ſuffer, are not out of hope, but that at laſt either the prince will, by his prerogative, or the people, by their intercеſſion, reſtore them again to their liberty, or

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at leaſt very much mitigate their ſlavery. He that tempts a married woman to adultery, is no leſs ſeverely puniſhed, than he that commits it; for they believe that a deliberate deſign to commit a crime, is equal to the fact itſelf; ſince its not taking effect does not make the perſon that miſcarried in his attempt at all the leſs guilty.

They take great pleaſure in fools, and as it is thought a baſe and unbecoming thing to uſe them ill, ſo they do not think it amiſs for people to divert themſelves with their folly: and, in their opinion, this is a great advantage to the fools themſelves: for if men were ſo ſullen and ſevere, as not at all to pleaſe themſelves with their ridiculous behaviour, and fooliſh ſayings, which is all that they can do to recommend themſelves to others, it could not be expected that they would be ſo well provided for, nor ſo tenderly uſed as they muſt otherwiſe be. If any man ſhould reproach another for his being miſhaped or imperfect in any part of his body, it would not at all be thought a reflection on the perſon ſo treated, but it would be accounted ſcandalous in him that had upbraided another with that he could not help. It is thought a ſign of a ſluggiſh and ſordid mind, not to preſerve carefully one's natural beauty; but it is likewiſe infamous among them to uſe paint. They all ſee that no beauty recommends a wife ſo much to her huſband, as the probity of her life, and her obedience: for as ſome few are catched and held only by beauty, ſo all are attracted by the other excellencies which charm all the world.

As they fright men from committing crimes by puniſhments, ſo they invite them to the love of virtue, by public honours: therefore they erect ſtatues to the memories of ſuch worthy men as have deſerved well of their country, and ſet theſe in their market-places, both to perpetuate the remembrance of their actions, and to be an incitement to their poſterity to follow their example.

If any man aſpires to any office, he is ſure never to compaſs it: they all live eaſily together, for none of the magiſtrates are either inſolent or cruel to the people: they affect rather to be called fathers, and by being really ſo, they well deſerve the name; and the people pay them all the marks of honour the more freely, beauſe none are exacted from them. The prince himſelf has no diſtinction, either of garments, or of a crown; but is only diſtinguiſhed by a ſheaf of corn carried before him; as the high prieſt is alſo known by his being preceded by a perſon carrying a wax light.

They have but few laws, and ſuch is their conſtitution, that they need not many. They very much condemn other nations, whoſe laws, together with the commentaries on them, ſwell up to ſo many volumes; for they think it an unreaſonable thing to oblige men to obey a body of laws, that are both of ſuch a bulk, and ſo dark as not to be read and underſtood by every one of the ſubjects.

They have no lawyers among them, for they conſider them as a ſort of people, whoſe profeſſion it is to diſguiſe matters and to wreſt the laws; and therefore they think it is much better that every man ſhould plead his

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own cauſe, and truſt it to the judge, as in other places the client truſts it to a counſellor. By this means they both cut off many delays, and find out truth more certainly: for after the parties have laid open the merits of the cauſe, without thoſe artifices which lawyers are apt to ſuggeſt, the judge examines the whole matter, and ſupports the ſimplicity of ſuch well-meaning perſons, whom otherwiſe crafty men would be ſure to run down: and thus they avoid thoſe evils, which appear very remarkably among all thoſe nations that labour under a vaſt load of laws. Every one of them is ſkilled in their law, for as it is a very ſhort ſtudy, ſo the plaineſt meaning of which words are capable, is always the ſenſe of their laws. And they argue thus; all laws are promulgated for this end, that every man may know his duty; and therefore the plaineſt and moſt obvious ſenſe of the words, is that which ought to be put upon them; ſince a more refined expoſition cannot be eaſily comprehended, and would only ſerve to make the laws become uſeleſs to the greater part of mankind; and eſpecially to thoſe who need moſt the direction of them: for it is all one, not to make a law at all, or to couch it in ſuch terms, that without a quick apprehenſion, and much ſtudy, a man cannot find out the true meaning of it; ſince the generality of mankind are both ſo dull, and ſo much employed in their ſeveral trades, that they have neither the leiſure nor the capacity requiſite for ſuch an enquiry.

Some of their neighbours, who are maſters of their own liberties, having long ago, by the aſſiſtance of the Utopians, ſhaken off the yoke of tyranny; and being much

taken with thoſe virtues which they obſerve among them, have come to deſire that they would ſend magiſtrates to govern them; ſome changing them every year, and others every five years. At the end of their government, they bring them back to Utopia, with great expreſſions of hohour and eſteem, and carry away others to govern in their ſtead. In this they ſeem to have fallen upon a very good expedient for their own happineſs and ſafety; for ſince the good or ill condition of a nation depends ſo much upon their magiſtrates, they could not have made a better choice, than by pitching on men whom no advantages can bias; for wealth is of no uſe to them, ſince they muſt ſo ſoon go back to their own country; and they being ſtrangers among them, are not engaged in any of their heats or animoſities: and it is certain, that when public judicatories are ſwayed, either by avarice or partial affections, there muſt follow a diſſolution of juſtice, the chief ſinew of ſociety.

The Utopians call thoſe nations that come and aſk magiſtrates from them, neighbours; but thoſe to whom they have been of more particular ſervice, friends. And as all other nations are perpetually either making leagues or breaking them, they never enter into an alliance with any ſtate. They think leagues are uſeleſs things, and believe, that if the common ties of humanity do not knit men together, the faith of promiſes will have no great effect: and they are the more confirmed in this, by what they ſee among the nations round about them, who are no ſtrict obſervers of leagues and treaties. We know how religiouſly they are obſerved in Europe; more

more particularly where the Chriſtian doctrine is received, among whom they are ſacred and inviolable. Which is partly owing to the juſtice and goodneſs of the princes themſelves, and partly to the reverence they pay to the popes: who as they are moſt religious obſervers of their own promiſes, ſo they exhort all other princes to perform theirs; and when fainter methods do not prevail, they compel them to it by the ſeverity of the paſtoral cenſure; and think that it would be the moſt indecent thing poſſible, if men who are particularly diſtinguiſhed by the title of the faithful, ſhould not religiouſly keep the faith of their treaties. But in that new-found world, which is not more diſtant from us in ſituation, than the people are in their manners and courſe of life, there is no truſting to leagues, even though they were made with all the pomp of the moſt ſacred ceremonies: on the contrary, they are on this account the ſooner broken, ſome ſlight pretence being found in the words of the treaties, which are purpoſely couched in ſuch ambiguous terms, that they can never be ſo ſtrictly bound, but they will always find ſome loop-hole to eſcape at; and thus they break both their leagues and their faith. And this is done with ſuch impudence, that thoſe very men who value themſelves on having ſuggeſted theſe expedients to their princes, would with a haughty ſcorn, declaim againſt ſuch craft, or to ſpeak plainer, ſuch fraud and deceit, if they found private men make uſe of it in their bargains; and would readily ſay, that they deſerved to be hanged.

By this means it is, that all ſort of juſtice, paſſes in the world, for a low-ſpirited and vulgar virtue, far below

low the dignity of royal greatneſs. Or at leaſt, there are ſet up two ſorts of juſtice: the one is mean, and creeps on the ground, and therefore becomes none but the lower part of mankind, and, ſo muſt be kept in ſeverely by many reſtraints, that it may not break out beyond the bounds that are ſet to it. The other is the peculiar virtue of princes, which as it is more majeſtic than that which becomes the rabble, ſo takes a freer compaſs; and thus lawful and unlawful, are only meaſured by pleaſure and intereſt. Theſe practices of the princes that lie about Utopia, who make ſo little account of their faith, ſeem to be the reaſons that determine them to engage in no confederacies: perhaps they would change their mind if they lived among us: but yet though treaties were more religiouſly obſerved, they would ſtill diſlike the cuſtom of making them; ſince the world has taken up a falſe maxim upon it, as if there were no tie of nature uniting one nation to another, only ſeparated perhaps by a mountain, or a river, and that all were born in a ſtate of hoſtility, and ſo might lawfully do all that miſchief to their neighbours, againſt which there is no proviſion made by treaties: and that when treaties are made, they do not cut off the enmity, or reſtrain the licenſe of preying upon each other, if by the unſkilfulneſs of wording them, there are not effectual proviſo's made againſt them. They, on the other hand, judge, that no man is to be eſteemed our enemy that has never injured us; and that the partnerſhip of the human nature, is inſtead of a league. And that kindneſs and good nature unite men more effectually, and with greater

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ſtrength than any agreements whatſoever; ſince thereby the engagements of men's hearts become ſtronger, than the bond and obligation of words.

OF THEIR

MILITARY DISCIPLINE.

THEY deteſt war as a very brutal thing; and which, to the reproach of human nature, is more practiſed by men, than by any ſort of beaſts: they, in oppoſition to the ſentiments of almoſt all other nations, think that there is nothing more inglorious than that glory that is gained by war: and therefore though they accuſtom themſelves daily to military exerciſes, and the diſcipline of war, in which not only their men, but their women likewiſe, are trained up, that in caſes of neceſſity, they may not be quite uſeleſs: yet they do not raſhly engage in war, unleſs it be either to defend themſelves, or their friends, from any unjuſt aggreſſors; or out of good nature, or in compaſſion aſſiſt an oppreſſed nation, in ſhaking off the yoke of tyranny. They indeed help their friends, not only in defenſive, but alſo in offenſive wars: but they never do that, unleſs they had been conſulted before the breach was made, and being ſatisfied with the grounds on which they went, they had found that all demands of reparation were rejected, ſo that a war was unavoid-

unavoidable. This they think to be not only juſt, when one neighbour makes an inroad on another, by public order, and carry away the ſpoils; but when the merchants of one country are oppreſſed in another, either under pretence of ſome unjuſt laws, or by the perverſe wreſting of good ones. This they count a juſter cauſe of war than the other, becauſe thoſe injuries are done under ſome colour of laws. This was the only ground of that war in which they engaged with the Nephelogetes againſt the Aleopolitanes, a little before our time: for the merchants of the former having, as they thought, met with great injuſtice among the latter, which whether it was in itſelf right or wrong, drew on a terrible war, in which many of their neighbours were engaged; and their keenneſs in carrying it on, being ſupported by their ſtrength in maintaining it; it not only ſhook ſome very flouriſhing ſtates, and very much afflicted others, but after a ſeries of much miſchief, ended in the intire conqueſt and ſlavery of the Aleopolitanes, who though before the war, they were in all reſpects much ſuperior to the Nephelogetes, were yet ſubdued: but though the Utopians had aſſiſted them in the war, yet they pretended to no ſhare of the ſpoil.

But though they ſo vigorouſly aſſiſt their friends in obtaining reparation for the injuries they have received in affairs of this nature, yet if any ſuch frauds were committed againſt themſelves, provided no violence was done to their perſons, they would only, on their being refuſed ſatisfaction, forbear trading with ſuch a people. This is not becauſe they conſider their neighbours more than their own citizens; but ſince their neighbours trade every one

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upon his own ſtock, fraud is a more ſenſible injury to them than it is to the Utopians, among whom the public in ſuch a caſe only ſuffers. As they expect nothing in return for the merchandizes they export, but that in which they ſo much abound, and is of little uſe to them, the loſs does not much affect them; they think therefore it would be too ſevere to revenge a loſs attended with ſo little inconvenience either to their lives, or their ſubſiſtence, with the death of many perſons; but if any of their people is either killed or wounded wrongfully, whether it be done by public authority, or only by private men, as ſoon as they hear of it, they ſend ambaſſadors, and demand, that the guilty perſons may be delivered up to them; and if that is denied, they declare war; but if it be complied with, the offenders are condemned either to death or ſlavery.

They would be both troubled and aſhamed of a bloody victory over their enemies; and think it would be as fooliſh a purchaſe, as to buy the moſt valuable goods at too high a rate. And in no victory do they glory ſo much, as in that which is gained by dexterity and good conduct, without bloodſhed. In ſuch caſes they appoint public triumphs, and erect trophies to the honour of thoſe who have ſucceeded; for then do they reckon that a man acts ſuitably to his nature, when he conquers his enemy in ſuch a way, as that no other creature but a man could be capable of, and that is, by the ſtrength of his underſtanding. Bears, lions, boars, wolves, and dogs, and all other animals employ their bodily force one againſt another, in which as many of them are ſuperior to men, both

both in ſtrength and fierceneſs, ſo they are all ſubdued by his reaſon and underſtanding.

The only deſign of the Utopians in war, is to obtain that by force, which if it had been granted them in time, would have prevented the war; or if that cannot be done, to take ſo ſevere a revenge on thoſe that have injured them, that they may be terrified from doing the like for the time to come. By theſe ends they meaſure all their deſigns, and manage them ſo, that it is viſible that the appetite of fame or vain-glory, does not work ſo much on them, as a juſt care of their own ſecurity.

As ſoon as they declare war, they take care to have a great many ſchedules, that are ſealed with their common ſeal, affixed in the moſt conſpicuous places of their enemies country. This is carried ſecretly, and done in many places all at once. In theſe they promiſe great rewards to ſuch as ſhall kill the prince, and leſſer in proportion to ſuch as ſhall kill any other perſons, who are thoſe on whom, next to the prince himſelf, they caſt the chief balance of the war. And they double the ſum to him, that inſtead of killing the perſon ſo marked out, ſhall take him alive, and put him in their hands. They offer not only indemnity, but rewards, to ſuch of the perſons themſelves that are ſo marked, if they will act againſt their countrymen: by this means thoſe that are named in their ſchedules, become not only diſtruſtful of their fellow citizens, but are jealous of one another: and are much diſtracted by fear and danger: for it has often fallen out, that many of them, and even the prince himſelf,

himſelf, have been betrayed by thoſe in whom they have truſted moſt: for the rewards that the Utopians offer, are ſo unmeaſurably great, that there is no ſort of crime to which men cannot be drawn by them. They conſider the riſque that thoſe run, who undertake ſuch ſervices, and offer a recompence proportionate to the danger; not only a vaſt deal of gold, but great revenues in lands, that lie among other nations that are their friends, where they may go and enjoy them very ſecurely; and they obſerve the promiſes they make of this kind moſt religiouſly. They very much approve of this way of corrupting their enemies, though it appears to others to be baſe and cruel; but they look on it as a wiſe courſe, to make an end of what would be otherwiſe a long war, without ſo much as hazarding one battle to decide it. They think it likewiſe an act of mercy and love to mankind, to prevent the great ſlaughter of thoſe that muſt otherwiſe be killed in the progreſs of the war, both on their own ſide, and on that of their enemies, by the death of a few that are moſt guilty; and that in ſo doing, they are kind even to their enemies, and pity them no leſs than their own people, as knowing that the greater part of them do not engage in the war of their own accord, but are driven into it by the paſſions of their prince.

If this method does not ſucceed with them, then they ſow ſeeds of contention among their enemies, and animate the prince's brother, or ſome of the nobility, to aſpire to the crown. If they cannot diſunite them by domeſtic broils, then they engage their neighbours againſt them, and make them ſet on foot ſome old pretenſions, which

which are never wanting to princes, when they have occaſion for them. Theſe they plentifully ſupply with money, though but very ſparingly with any auxiliary troops: for they are ſo tender of their own people, that they would not willingly exchange one of them, even with the prince of their enemies country.

But as they keep their gold and ſilver only for ſuch an occaſion, ſo when that offers itſelf, they eaſily part with it, ſince it would be no inconvenience to them, though they ſhould reſerve nothing of it to themſelves. For beſides the wealth that they have among them at home, they have a vaſt treaſure abroad; many nations round about them, being deep in their debt: ſo that they hire ſoldiers from all places for carrying on their wars; but chiefly from the Zapolets, who live five hundred miles eaſt of Utopia. They are a rude, wild, and fierce nation, who delight in the woods and rocks, among which they were born and bred up. They are hardened both againſt heat, cold, and labour, and know nothing of the delicacies of life. They do not apply themſelves to agriculture, nor do they care either for their houſes or their clothes. Cattle is all that they look after; and for the greateſt part, they live either by hunting, or upon rapine; and are made, as it were, only for war. They watch all opportunities of engaging in it, and very readily embrace ſuch as are offered them. Great numbers of them will frequently go out, and offer themſelves for a very low pay, to ſerve any that will employ them: they know none of the arts of life, but thoſe that lead to the taking it away; they ſerve thoſe that hire them, both with much

much courage and great fidelity; but will not engage to ſerve for any determined time, and agree upon ſuch terms, that the next day they may go over to the enemies of thoſe whom they ſerve, if they offer them a greater encouragement: and will perhaps return to them the day after that, upon a higher advance of their pay. There are few wars in which they make not a conſiderable part of the armies of both ſides: ſo it often falls out, that they who are related, and were hired in the ſame country, and ſo have lived long and familiarly together, forgetting both their relations and former friendſhip, kill one another upon no other conſideration, than that of being hired to it for a little money, by princes of different intereſts: and ſuch a regard have they for money, that they are eaſily wrought on by the difference of one penny a day, to change ſides. So entirely does their avarice influence them; and yet this money which they value ſo highly, is of little uſe to them; for what they purchaſe thus with their blood, they quickly waſte on luxury, which among them is but of a poor and miſerable form.

This nation ſerves the Utopians againſt all people whatſoever, for they pay higher than any other. The Utopians hold this for a maxim, that as they ſeek out the beſt ſort of men for their own uſe at home, ſo they make uſe of this worſt ſort of men for the conſumption of war, and therefore they hire them with the offers of vaſt rewards, to expoſe themſelves to all ſorts of hazards, out of which the greater part never returns to claim their promiſes. Yet they make them good moſt religiouſly to ſuch as eſcape. This animates them to adventure again, whenever

there is occaſion for it; for the Utopians are not all troubled how many of theſe happen to be killed; and reckon it a ſervice done to mankind, if they could be a means to deliver the world from ſuch a lewd and vicious ſort of people, that ſeem to have run together, as to the drain of human nature. Next to theſe they are ſerved in their wars, with thoſe upon whoſe account they undertake them, and with the auxiliary troops of their other friends, to whom they join a few of their own people, and ſend ſome man of eminent and approved virtue to command in chief. There are two ſent with him, who during his command, are but private men, but the firſt is to ſucceed him if he ſhould happen to be either killed or taken; and in caſe of the like misfortune to him, the third comes in his place; and thus they provide againſt ill events, that ſuch accidents as may befal their Generals, may not endanger their armies.

When they draw out troops of their own people, they take ſuch out of every city as freely offer themſelves, for none are forced to go againſt their wills, ſince they think that if any man is preſſed that wants courage, he will not only act faintly, but by his cowardice diſhearten others. But if an invaſion is made on their country, they make uſe of ſuch men, if they have good bodies, though they are not brave; and either put them aboard their ſhips, or place them on the walls of their towns, that being ſo poſted, they may find no opportunity of flying away; and thus either ſhame, the heat of action, or the impoſſibility of flying, bears down their cowardice; they often make a virtue of neceſſity, and behave themſelves well, becauſe nothing

nothing elſe is left them. But as they force no man to go into any foreign war againſt his will, ſo they do not hinder thoſe women who are willing to go along with their huſbands: on the contrary, they encourage and praiſe them; and they ſtand often next their huſbands in the front of the army. They alſo place together thoſe who are related, parents and children, kindred, and thoſe that are mutually allied, near one another; that thoſe whom nature has inſpired with the greateſt zeal for aſſiſting one another, may be the neareſt and readieſt to do it; and it is matter of great reproach, if huſband or wife ſurvive one another, or if a child ſurvives his parent, and therefore when they come to be engaged in action, they continue to fight to the laſt man, if their enemies ſtand before them: and as they uſe all prudent methods to avoid the endangering their own men, and if it is poſſible, let all the action and danger fall upon the troops that they hire, ſo if it becomes neceſſary for themſelves to engage, they then charge with as much courage, as they avoided it before with prudence. Nor is it a fierce charge at firſt, but it encreaſes by degrees; and as they continue in action, they grow more obſtinate, and preſs harder upon the enemy, inſomuch that they will much ſooner die than give ground; for the certainty that their children will be well looked after, when they are dead, frees them from all that anxiety concerning them, which often maſters men of great courage; and thus they are animated by a noble and invincible reſolution. Their ſkill in military affairs encreaſes their courage; and the wiſe ſentiments which according to the laws of their country, are inſtilled into

them in their education, give additional vigour to their minds: for as they do not under-value life ſo as prodigally to throw it away, they are not ſo indecently fond of it, as to preſerve it, by baſe and unbecoming methods. In the greateſt heat of action the braveſt of their youth, who have devoted themſelves to that ſervice, ſingle out the General of their enemies, ſet on him either openly or by ambuſcade; purſue him every where, and when ſpent and wearied out, are relieved by others, who never give over the purſuit, either attacking him with cloſe weapons when they can get near him, or with thoſe which wound at a diſtance, when others get in between them: ſo that unleſs he ſecures himſelf by flight, they ſeldom fail at laſt to kill or to take him priſoner. When they have obtained a victory, they kill as few as poſſible, and are much more bent on taking many priſoners, than on killing thoſe that fly before them: Nor do they ever let their men ſo looſe in the purſuit of their enemies, as not to retain an entire body ſtill in order; ſo that if they have been forced to engage the laſt of their battalions, before they could gain the day, they will rather let their enemies all eſcape than purſue them, when their own army is in diſorder; remembering well what has often fallen out to themſelves; that when the main body of their army has been quite defeated and broken, when their enemies imagining the victory obtained, have let themſelves looſe into an irregular purſuit, a few of them that lay for a reſerve, waiting a fit opportunity, have fallen on them in their chaſe, and when ſtraggling in diſorder, and apprehenſive of no danger, but counting the day their own, have turned the whole

whole action, and wreſting out of their hands a victory that ſeemed certain and undoubted, while the vanquiſhed have ſuddenly become victorious.

It is hard to tell whether they are more dexterous in laying or avoiding ambuſhes: they ſometimes ſeem to fly when it is far from their thoughts; and when they intend to give ground, they do it ſo, that it is very hard to find out their deſign. If they ſee they are ill poſted, or are like to be overpowered by numbers, they then either march off in the night with great ſilence, or by ſome ſtratagem delude their enemies: if they retire in the day-time, they do it in ſuch order, that it is no leſs dangerous to fall upon them in a retreat, than in a march. They fortify their camps with a deep and large trench; and throw up the earth that is dug out of it for a wall; nor do they employ only their ſlaves in this, but the whole army works at it, except thoſe that are then upon the guard; ſo that when ſo many hands are at work, a great line and a ſtrong fortification is finiſhed in ſo ſhort a time, that it is ſcarce credible. Their armour is very ſtrong for defence, and yet is not ſo heavy as to make them uneaſy in their marches; they can even ſwim with it. All that are trained up to war, practiſe ſwimming: both horſe and foot make great uſe of arrows, and are very expert: they have no ſwords, but fight with a pole-axe that is both ſharp and heavy, by which they thruſt or ſtrike down an enemy; they are very good at finding out warlike machines, and diſguiſe them ſo well, that the enemy does not perceive them, till he feels the uſe of them; ſo that he cannot prepare ſuch a defence as would render them

uſeleſs; the chief conſideration had in the making them, is, that they may be eaſily carried and managed.

If they agree to a truce, they obſerve it ſo religiouſly, that no provocations will make them break it. They never lay their enemies country waſte, nor burn their corn, and even in their marches they take all poſſible care, that neither horſe nor foot may tread it down, for they do not know but that they may have uſe for it themſelves. They hurt no man whom they find diſarmed, unleſs he is a ſpy. When a town is ſurrendered to them, they take it into their protection: and when they carry a place by ſtorm, they never plunder it, but put thoſe only to the ſword that oppoſed the rendering of it up, and make the reſt of the garriſon ſlaves, but for the other inhabitants, they do them no hurt; and if any of them had adviſed a ſurrender, they give them good rewards out of the eſtates of thoſe that they condemn, and diſtribute the reſt among their auxiliary troops, but they themſelves take no ſhare of the ſpoil.

When a war is ended, they do not oblige their friends to reimburſe their expences, but they obtain them of the conquered, either in money, which they keep for the next occaſion, or in lands, out of which a conſtant revenue is to be paid them; by many increaſes, the revenue which they draw out from ſeveral countries on ſuch occaſions, is now riſen to above 700,000 ducats a year. They ſend ſome of their own people to receive theſe revenues, who have orders to live magnificently, and like princes, by which means they conſume much of it upon the place; and either bring over the reſt to Utopia, or lend it to that nation

nation in which it lies. This they moſt commonly do, unleſs ſome great occaſion, which falls out but very ſeldom, ſhould oblige them to call for it all. It is out of theſe lands that they aſſign rewards to ſuch as they encourage to adventure on deſperate attempts. If any prince that engages in war with them, is making preparations for invading their country, they prevent him, and make his country the ſeat of the war; for they do not willingly ſuffer any war to break in upon their iſland; and if that ſhould happen, they would only defend themſelves by their own people; but would not call for auxiliary troops to their aſſiſtance.

OF THE

RELIGIONS OF THE UTOPIANS.

THERE are ſeveral ſorts of religions, not only in different parts of the iſland, but even in every town; ſome worſhipping the ſun, others the moon, or one of the planets: ſome worſhip ſuch men as have been eminent in former times for virtue, or glory, not only as ordinary deities, but as the Supreme God: Yet the greater and wiſer ſort of them worſhip none of theſe, but adore one eternal, inviſible, infinite, and incomprehenſible Deity; as a Being that is far above all our apprehenſions, that is ſpread over the whole univerſe, not by his bulk, but by his power and virtue: him they call the Father of all,

and acknowledge that the beginnings, the encreaſe, the progreſs, the viciſſitudes, and the end of all things come only from him; nor do they offer divine honours to any but to him alone. And indeed, though they differ concerning other things, yet all agree in this; that they think there is one Supreme Being that made and governs the world, whom they call in the language of their country, Mithras. They differ in this, that one thinks the God whom he worſhips is this Supreme Being, and another thinks that his idol is that God; but they all agree in one principle, that whoever is this Supreme Being, he is alſo that great eſſence, to whoſe glory and majeſty all honours are aſcribed by the conſent of all nations.

By degrees, they fall off from the various ſuperſtitions that are among them, and grow up to that one religion that is the beſt and moſt in requeſt; and there is no doubt to be made, but that all the others had vaniſhed long ago, if ſome of thoſe who adviſed them to lay aſide their ſuperſtitions, had not met with ſome unhappy accidents, which being conſidered as inflicted by heaven, made them afraid that the god whoſe worſhip had like to have been abandoned, had interpoſed, and revenged themſelves on thoſe who deſpiſed their authority.

After they had heard from us, an account of the doctrine, the courſe of life, and the miracles of Chriſt, and of the wonderful conſtancy of ſo many martyrs, whoſe blood, ſo willingly offered up by them, was the chief occaſion of ſpreading their religion over a vaſt number of nations, it is not to be imagined how inclined they were to receive it. I ſhall not determine whether this proceeded

ceeded from any ſecret inſpiration of God, or whether it was becauſe it ſeemed ſo favourable to that community of goods, which is an opinion ſo particular, as well as ſo dear to them; ſince they perceived that Chriſt and his followers lived by that rule: and that it was ſtill kept up in ſome communities among the ſincereſt ſort of Chriſtians. From which ſoever of theſe motives it might be, true it is that many of them came over to our religion, and were initiated into it by baptiſm. But as two of our number were dead, ſo none of the four that ſurvived, were in prieſts orders; we therefore could only baptize them; ſo that to our great regret, they could not partake of the other ſacraments, that can only be adminiſtered by prieſts: But they are inſtructed concerning them, and long moſt vehemently for them. They have had great diſputes among themſelves, whether one choſen by them to be a prieſt, would not be thereby qualified to do all the things that belong to that character, even though he had no authority derived from the pope; and they ſeemed to be reſolved to chooſe ſome for that employment, but they had not done it when I left them.

Thoſe among them that have not received our religion, do not fright any from it, and uſe none ill that goes over to it; ſo that all the while I was there, one man was only puniſhed on this occaſion. He being newly baptized, did, notwithſtanding all that we could ſay to the contrary, diſpute publickly concerning the Chriſtian religion, with more zeal than diſcretion; and with ſo much heat, that he not only preferred our worſhip to theirs, but condemned all their rights as profane; and cried out againſt all that adhered

hered to them, as impious and facrilegious perſons, that were to be damned to everlaſting burnings. Upon his having frequently preached in this manner, he was ſeized, and after trial, he was condemned to baniſhment, not for having diſparaged their religion, but for his inflaming the people to ſedition: for this is one of their moſt ancient laws, that no man ought to be puniſhed for his religion. At the firſt conſtitution of their government, Utopus having underſtood, that before his coming among them, the old inhabitants had been engaged in great quarrels concerning religion, by which they were ſo divided among themſelves, that he found it an eaſy thing to conquer them, ſince inſtead of uniting their forces againſt him, every different party in religion fought by themſelves: after he had ſubdued them, he made a law that every man might be of what religion he pleaſed, and might endeavour to draw others to it by the force of argument, and by amicable and modeſt ways, but without bitterneſs againſt thoſe of other opinions; but that he ought to uſe no other force but that of perſuaſion; and was neither to mix with it reproaches nor violence; and ſuch as did otherwiſe were to be condemned to baniſhment or ſlavery.

This law was made by Utopus, not only for preſerving the public peace, which he ſaw ſuffered much by daily contentions and irreconcilable heats, but becauſe he thought the intereſt of religion itſelf required it. He judged it not fit to determine any thing raſhly; and ſeemed to doubt whether thoſe different forms of religion might not all come from God, who might inſpire men

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in a different manner, and be pleaſed with this variety; he therefore thought it indecent and fooliſh for any man to threaten and terrify another to make him believe what did not appear to him to be true. And ſuppoſing that only one religion was really true, and the reſt falſe, he imagined that the native force of truth would at laſt break forth and ſhine bright, if ſupported only by the ſtrength of argument, and attended to with a gentle and unprejudiced mind; while, on the other hand, if ſuch debates were carried on with violence and tumults, as the moſt wicked are always the moſt obſtinate, ſo the beſt and moſt holy religion, might be choaked with ſuperſtition, as corn is with briars and thorns; he therefore left men wholly to their liberty, that they might be free to believe as they ſhould ſee cauſe; only he made a ſolemn and ſevere law againſt ſuch as ſhould ſo far degenerate from the dignity of human nature, as to think that our ſouls died with our bodies, or that the world was governed by chance, without a wiſe over-ruling Providence; for they all formerly believed that there was a ſtate of rewards and puniſhments to the good and bad after this life; and they now look on thoſe that think otherwiſe, as ſcarce fit to be counted men, ſince they degrade ſo noble a being as the ſoul, and reckon it no better than a beaſt's: thus they are far from looking on ſuch men as fit for human ſociety, or to be citizens of a well-ordered commonwealth; ſince a man of ſuch principles muſt needs, as oft as he dares do it, deſpiſe all their laws and cuſtoms: for there is no doubt to be made, that a man who is afraid of nothing but the law, and apprehends nothing after

after death, will not ſcruple to break through all the laws of his country, either by fraud or force, when by this means he may ſatisfy his appetites. They never raiſe any that hold theſe maxims, either to honours or offices, nor employ them in any public truſt, but deſpiſe them, as men of baſe and ſordid minds: yet they do not puniſh them, becauſe they lay this down as a maxim, that a man cannot make himſelf believe any thing he pleaſes; nor do they drive any to diſſemble their thoughts by threatenings, ſo that men are not tempted to lie or diſguiſe their opinions; which being a ſort of fraud, is abhorred by the Utopians: they take care indeed to prevent their diſputing in defence of theſe opinions, eſpecially before the common people: but they ſuffer, and even encourage them to diſpute concerning them in private with their prieſts, and other grave men, being confident that they will be cured of thoſe mad opinions, by having reaſon laid before them. There are many among them that run far to the other extreme, though it is neither thought an ill nor unreaſonable opinion, and therefore is not at all diſcouraged. They think that the ſouls of beaſts are immortal, though far inferior to the dignity of the human ſoul, and not capable of ſo great a happineſs.

They are almoſt all of them very firmly perſuaded, that good men will be infinitely happy in another ſtate; ſo that though they are compaſſionate to all that are ſick, yet they lament no man's death, except they ſee him loth to part with life; for they look on this as a very ill preſage, as if the ſoul, conſcious to itſelf of guilt, and quite hopeleſs, was afraid to leave the body, from ſome ſecret hints

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of approaching miſery. They think that ſuch a man's appearance before God, cannot be acceptable to him, who being called on, does not go out cheerfully, but is backward and unwilling, and is, as it were, dragged to it. They are ſtruck with horror, when they ſee any die in this manner, and carry them out in ſilence, and with ſorrow, and praying God that he would be merciful to the errors of the departed ſoul, they lay the body in the ground: but when any die cheerfully, and full of hope, they do not mourn for them, but ſing hymns when they carry out their bodies, and commending their ſouls very earneſtly to God: their whole behaviour is then rather grave than ſad, they burn the body, and ſet up a pillar where the pile was made, with an inſcription to the honour of the deceaſed. When they come from the funeral, they diſcourſe of his good life, and worthy actions, but ſpeak of nothing oftener and with more pleaſure, than of his ſerenity at the hour of death. They think ſuch reſpect paid to the memory of good men, is both the greateſt incitement to engage others to follow their example, and the moſt acceptable worſhip that can be offered them; for they believe that though by the imperfection of human ſight, they are inviſible to us, yet they are preſent among us, and hear thoſe diſcourſes that paſs concerning themſelves. They believe it inconſiſtent with the happineſs of departed ſouls, not to be at liberty to be where they will: and do not imagine them capable of the ingratitude of not deſiring to ſee thoſe friends, with whom they lived on earth in the ſtricteſt bonds of love and kindneſs: beſides they are perſuaded that good men after death

death have theſe affections, and all other good diſpoſitions encreaſed rather than diminiſhed, and therefore conclude that they are ſtill among the living, and obſerve all they ſay or do. From hence they engage in all their affairs with the greater confidence of ſucceſs, as truſting to their protection; while this opinion of the preſence of their anceſtors is a reſtraint that prevents their engaging in ill deſigns.

They deſpiſe and laugh at auguries, and the other vain and ſuperſtitious ways of divination, ſo much obſerved among other nations; but have great reverence for ſuch miracles as cannot flow from any of the powers of nature, and look on them as effects and indications of the preſence of the Supreme Being, of which they ſay many inſtances have occurred among them; and that ſometimes their public prayers, which upon great and dangerous occaſions they have ſolemnly put up to God, with aſſured confidence of being heard, have been anſwered in a miraculous manner.

They think the contemplating God in his works, and the adoring him for them, is a very acceptable piece of worſhip to him.

There are many among them, that upon a motive of religion, neglect learning, and apply themſelves to no ſort of ſtudy; nor do they allow themſelves any leiſure time, but are perpetually employed, believing that by the good things that a man does he ſecures to himſelf that happineſs that comes after death. Some of theſe viſit the ſick; others mend highways, cleanſe ditches, repair bridges, or dig turf, gravel, or ſtones. Others fell and cleave

cleave timber, and bring wood, corn and other neceſſaries, on carts into their towns. Nor do theſe only ſerve the public, but they ſerve even private men, more than the ſlaves themſelves do: for if there is any where a rough, hard, and ſordid piece of work to be done, from which many are frightened by the labour and lothſomeneſs of it, if not the deſpair of accompliſhing it, they cheerfully, and of their own accord, take that to their ſhare; and by that means, as they eaſe others very much, ſo they afflict themſelves, and ſpend their whole life in hard labour: and yet they do not value themſelves upon this, nor leſſen other people's credit, to raiſe their own; but by their ſtooping to ſuch ſervile employments, they are ſo far from being deſpiſed, that they are ſo much the more eſteemed by the whole nation.

Of theſe there are two ſorts: ſome live unmarried and chaſte, and abſtain from eating any ſort of fleſh; and thus weaning themſelves from all the pleaſures of the preſent life, which they account hurtful, they purſue, even by the hardeſt and painfulleſt methods poſſible, that bleſſedneſs which they hope for hereafter; and the nearer they approach to it, they are the more cheerful and earneſt in their endeavours after it. Another ſort of them is leſs willing to put themſelves to much toil, and therefore prefer a married ſtate to a ſingle one; and as they do not deny themſelves the pleaſure of it, ſo they think the begetting of children is a debt which they owe to human nature, and to their country: nor do they avoid any pleaſure that does not hinder labour; and therefore eat fleſh ſo much the more willingly, as they find that by this means they

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are the more able to work: the Utopians look upon theſe as the wiſer ſect, but they eſteem the others as the moſt holy. They would indeed laugh at any man, who from the principles of reaſon, would prefer an unmarried ſtate to a married, or a life of labour to an eaſy life: but they reverence and admire ſuch as do it from the motives of religion. There is nothing in which they are more cautious, than in giving their opinion poſitively concerning any ſort of religion. The men that lead thoſe ſevere lives, are called in the language of their country Brutheſkas, which anſwers to thoſe we call religious orders.

Their prieſts are men of eminent piety, and therefore they are but few, for there are only thirteen in every town, one for every temple; but when they go to war, ſeven of theſe go out with their forces, and ſeven others are choſen to ſupply their room in their abſence; but theſe enter again upon their employment when they return; and thoſe who ſerved in their abſence, attend upon the high-prieſt, till vacancies fall by death; for there is one ſet over all the reſt. They are choſen by the people as the other magiſtrates are, by ſuffrages given in ſecret, for preventing of factions: and when they are choſen, they are conſecrated by the college of prieſts. The care of all ſacred things, the worſhip of God, and an inſpection into the manners of the people, are committed to them. It is a reproach to a man to be ſent for by any of them, or for them to ſpeak to him in ſecret, for that always gives ſome ſuſpicion: all that is incumbent on them, is only to exhort and admoniſh the people; for the power of correcting and puniſhing ill men, belongs wholly to the prince, and to the

the other magiſtrates: the ſevereſt thing that the prieſt does, is the excluding thoſe that are deſperately wicked from joining in their worſhip: There is not any ſort of puniſhment more dreaded by them than this, for as it loads them with infamy, ſo it fills them with ſecret horrors, ſuch is their reverence to their religion; nor will their bodies be long exempted from their ſhare of trouble; for if they do not very quickly ſatisfy the prieſts of the truth of their repentance, they are ſeized on by the ſenate, and puniſhed for their impiety. The education of youth belongs to the prieſts, yet they do not take ſo much care of inſtructing them in letters, as in forming their minds and manners aright: they uſe all poſſible methods to infuſe very early into the tender and flexible minds of children, ſuch opinions as are both good in themſelves, and will be uſeful to their country: for when deep impreſſions of theſe things are made at that age, they follow men through the whole courſe of their lives, and conduce much to preſerve the peace of the government, which ſuffers by nothing more than by vices that riſe out of ill opinions. The wives of their prieſts are the moſt extraordinary women of the whole country; ſometimes the women themſelves are made prieſts, though that falls out but ſeldom, nor are any but antient widows choſen into that order.

None of the magiſtrates have greater honour paid them, than is paid the prieſts; and if they ſhould happen to commit any crime, they would not be queſtioned for it: their puniſhment is left to God, and to their own conſciences: for they do not think it lawful to lay hands on any man,

how wicked ſoever he his, that has been in a peculiar manner dedicated to God; nor do they find any great inconvenience in this, both becauſe they have ſo few prieſts, and becauſe theſe are choſen with much caution, ſo that it muſt be a very unuſual thing to find one who merely out of regard to his virtue, and for his being eſteemed a ſingularly good man, was raiſed up to ſo great a dignity, degenerate into corruption and vice: and if ſuch a thing ſhould fall out, for man is a changeable creature; yet there being few prieſts, and theſe having no authority, but what riſes out of the reſpect that is paid them, nothing of great conſequence to the public can proceed from the indemnity that the prieſts enjoy.

They have indeed very few of them, leſt greater numbers ſharing in the ſame honour, might make the dignity of that order which they eſteem ſo highly, to ſink in its reputation: they alſo think it difficult to find out many of ſuch an exalted pitch of goodneſs, as to be equal to that dignity which demands the exerciſe of more than ordinary virtues. Nor are the prieſts in greater veneration among them, than they are among their neighbouring nations, as you may imagine by that which I think gives occaſion for it.

When the Utopians engage in battle, the prieſts who accompany them to the war, apparelled in their ſacred veſtments, kneel down during the action, in a place not far from the field; and lifting up their hands to Heaven, pray, firſt for peace, and then for victory to their own ſide, and particularly that it may be gained without the effuſion of much blood on either ſide, and when the victory

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turns to their ſide, they run in among their own men to reſtrain their fury; and if any of their enemies ſee them, or call to them, they are preſerved by that means: and ſuch as can come ſo near them as to touch their garments, have not only their lives, but their fortunes ſecured to them: it is upon this account that all the nations round about conſider them ſo much, and treat them with ſuch reverence, that they have been often no leſs able to preſerve their own people from the fury of their enemies, than to ſave their enemies from their rage: for it has ſometimes fallen out, that when their armies have been in diſorder, and forced to fly, ſo that their enemies were running upon the ſlaughter and ſpoil, the prieſts by interpoſing, have ſeparated them from one another, and ſtopped the effuſion of more blood; ſo that by their mediation, a peace has been concluded on very reaſonable terms; nor is there any nation about them ſo fierce, cruel, or barbarous, as not to look upon their perſons as ſacred and inviolable.

The firſt and the laſt day of the month, and of the year, is a feſtival: they meaſure their months by the courſe of the moon; and their years by the courſe of the ſun: the firſt days are called in their language the Cynemernes, and the laſt the Trapemernes; which anſwers in our language to the feſtival that begins, or ends the ſeaſon.

They have magnificent temples, that are not only nobly built, but extremely ſpacious; which is the more neceſſary, as they have ſo few of them: they are a little dark within, which proceeds not from any error in the architecture, but is done with deſign; for their prieſts think that too much light diſſipates the thoughts, and that a more mo-

derate degree of it, both recollects the mind, and raises devotion. Though there are many different forms of religion among them, yet all these, how various soever, agree in the main point, which is the worshipping the Divine Essence; and therefore there is nothing to be seen or heard in their temples, in which the several persuasions among them may not agree; for every sect performs those rites that are peculiar to it, in their private houses, nor is there any thing in the public worship, that contradicts the particular ways of those different sects. There are no images for God in their temples, so that every one may represent him to his thoughts, according to the way of his religion; nor do they call this one God by any other name, but that of Mithras, which is the common name by which they all express the Divine Essence, whatsoever otherwise they think it to be; nor are there any prayers among them, but such as every one of them may use without prejudice to his own opinion.

They meet in their temples on the evening of the festival that concludes a season: and not having yet broke their fast, they thank God for their good success during that year or month, which is then at an end: and the next day, being that which begins the new season, they meet early in their temples, to pray for the happy progress of all their affairs during that period, upon which they then enter. In the festival which concludes the period, before they go to the temple, both wives and children fall on their knees before their husbands or parents, and confess every thing in which they have either erred or failed in their duty, and beg pardon for it: thus all little dis-

contents

contents in families are removed, that they may offer up their devotions with a pure and ſerene mind; for they hold it a great impiety to enter upon them with diſturbed thoughts; or with a conſcioufneſs of their bearing hatred or anger in their hearts to any perſon whatſoever; and think that they ſhould become liable to ſevere puniſhments, if they preſumed to offer ſacrifices without cleanſing their hearts, and reconciling all their differences. In the temples, the two ſexes are ſeparated, the men go to the right hand, and the women to the left: and the males and females all place themſelves before the head, and maſter or miſtreſs of that family to which they belong; ſo that thoſe who have the government of them at home, may ſee their deportment in public: and they intermingle them ſo, that the younger and the older may be ſet by one another; for if the younger ſort were all ſet together, they would perhaps trifle away that time too much, in which they ought to beget in themſelves that religious dread of the Supreme Being, which is the greateſt, and almoſt the only incitement to virtue.

They offer up no living creature in ſacrifice, nor do they think it ſuitable to the Divine Being, from whoſe bounty it is that theſe creatures have derived their lives, to take pleaſure in their deaths, or the offering up their blood. They burn incenſe, and other ſweet odours, and have a great number of wax lights during their worſhip; not out of any imagination that ſuch oblations can add any thing to the Divine Nature, which even prayers cannot do; but as it is a harmleſs and pure way of worſhipping God; ſo they think thoſe ſweet ſavours and lights, to-

gether with ſome other ceremonies, by a ſecret and unaccountable virtue, elevate men's ſouls, and inflame them with greater energy and chcerfulneſs during the divine worſhip.

All the people appear in the temples in white garments; but the prieſt's veſtments are parti-coloured; and both the work and colours are wonderful: they are made of no rich materials, for they are neither embroidered, nor ſet with precious ſtones, but are compoſed of the plumes of ſeveral birds, laid together with ſo much art, and ſo neatly, that the true value of them is far beyond the coſtlieſt materials. They ſay, that in the ordering and placing thoſe plumes, ſome dark myſteries are repreſented, which paſs down among their prieſts in a ſecret tradition concerning them; and that they are as hieroglyphics, putting them in mind of the bleſſings that they have received from God, and of their duties, both to him and to their neighbours. As ſoon as the prieſt appears in thoſe ornaments, they all fall proſtrate on the ground, with ſo much reverence and ſo deep a ſilence, that ſuch as look on, cannot but be ſtruck with it, as if it were the effect of the appearance of a deity. After they have been for ſome time in this poſture, they all ſtand up, upon a ſign given by the prieſt, and ſing hymns to the honour of God, ſome muſical inſtruments playing all the while. Theſe are quite of another form than thoſe uſed among us: but, as many of them are much ſweeter than ours, ſo others are made uſe of by us. Yet in one thing they very much exceed us; all their muſic, both vocal and inſtrumental, is adapted to imitate and expreſs the paſſions; and is ſo happily ſuited to

every

every occaſion, that whether the ſubject of the hymn be cheerful, or formed to ſooth or trouble the mind, or to expreſs grief or remorſe; the muſic takes the impreſſion of whatever is repreſented, affects and kindles the paſſions, and works the ſentiments deep into the hearts of the hearers. When this is done, both prieſts and people offer up very ſolemn prayers to God in a ſet form of words; and theſe are ſo compoſed, that whatſoever is pronounced by the whole aſſembly, may be likewiſe applied by every man in particular to his own condition; in theſe they acknowledge God to be the author and governor of the world, and the fountain of all the good they receive; and therefore offer up to him their thankſgiving; and in particular, bleſs him for his goodneſs in ordering it ſo, that they are born under the happieſt government in the world, and are of a religion which they hope is the trueſt of all others: but if they are miſtaken, and if there is either a better government, or a religion more acceptable to God, they implore his goodneſs to let them know it, vowing that they reſolve to follow him whitherſoever he leads them: but if their government is the beſt, and their religion the trueſt, then they pray that he may fortify them in it, and bring all the world, both to the ſame rules of life, and to the ſame opinions concerning himſelf; unleſs, according to the unſearchableneſs of his mind, he is pleaſed with a variety of religions. Then they pray that God may give them an eaſy paſſage at laſt to himſelf; not preſuming to ſet limits to him, how early or late it ſhould be; but if it may be wiſhed for, without derogating from his unknown authority, they deſire to be quickly delivered, and to be

taken to himſelf, though by the moſt terrible kind of death, rather than to be detained long from ſeeing him, by the moſt proſperous courſe of life. When this prayer is ended, they all fall down again upon the ground, and after a little while they riſe up; go home to dinner, and ſpend the reſt of the day in diverſion or military exerciſes.

Thus have I deſcribed to you, as particularly as I could, the conſtitution of that commonwealth, which I do not only think the beſt in the world, but indeed the only commonwealth that truly deſerves that name. In all other places, it is viſible, that while people talk of a common wealth, every man only ſeeks his own wealth: but there, where no man has any property, all men zealouſly purſue the good of the public. And indeed it is no wonder to ſee men act ſo differently; for in other commonwealths, every man knows, that unleſs he provides for himſelf, how flouriſhing ſoever the commonwealth may be, he muſt die of hunger; ſo that he ſees the neceſſity of preferring his own concerns to the public. But in Utopia, where every man has a right to every thing, they all know, that if care is taken to keep the public ſtores full, no private man can want any thing; for among them there is no unequal diſtribution, ſo that no man is poor, none in neceſſity; and though no man has any thing, yet they are all rich; for what can make a man ſo rich, as to lead a ſerene and cheerful life, free from anxieties; neither apprehending want himſelf, nor vexed with the endleſs complaints of his wife? He is not afraid of the miſery of his children, nor is he contriving

triving how to raiſe a portion for his daughters, but is ſecure in this, that both he and his wife, his children and grand-children, to as many generations as he can fancy, will all live, both plentifully and happily; ſince among them there is no leſs care taken of thoſe who were once engaged in labour, but grow afterwards unable to follow it, than there is elſewhere of theſe that continue ſtill employed. I would gladly hear any man compare the juſtice that is among them with that of all other nations; among whom, may I periſh, if I ſee any thing that looks either like juſtice or equity. For what juſtice is there in this, that a nobleman, a goldſmith, a banker, or any other man, that either does nothing at all, or at beſt is employed in things that are of no uſe to the public, ſhould live in great luxury and ſplendor upon what is ſo ill acquired, and a mean man—a carter, a ſmith, or a ploughman, that works harder even than the beaſts themſelves, and is employed in labours ſo neceſſary, that no commonwealth could hold out a year without them, can only earn ſo poor a livelihood, and muſt lead ſo miſerable a life, that the condition of the beaſts is much better than their's? For as the beaſts do not work ſo conſtantly, ſo they feed almoſt as well, and with more pleaſure, and have no anxiety about what is to come; whilſt theſe men are depreſſed by a barren and fruitleſs employment, and tormented with the apprehenſions of want in their old age; ſince that which they get by their daily labour does but maintain them at preſent, and is conſumed as faſt as it comes in; there is no overplus left to lay up for old age.

Is not that government both unjuſt and ungrateful, that is ſo prodigal of its favors to thoſe that are called gentlemen, or goldſmiths, or ſuch others who are idle, or live either by flattery or by contriving the arts of vain pleaſure; and, on the other hand, takes no care of thoſe of a meaner ſort, ſuch as ploughmen, colliers, and ſmiths, without whom it could not ſubſiſt? But after the public has reaped all the advantage of their ſervice, and they come to be oppreſſed with age, ſickneſs, and want, all their labours, and the good they have done, is forgotten; and all the recompence given them is, that they are left to die in great miſery. The richer ſort are often endeavoring to bring the hire of labourers lower, not only by their fraudulent practices, but by the laws which they procure to be made to that effect: ſo that though it is a thing moſt unjuſt in itſelf, to give ſuch ſmall rewards to thoſe who deſerve ſo well of the public, yet they have given thoſe hardſhips the name and colour of juſtice, by procuring laws to be made for regulating them.

Therefore I muſt ſay, that, as I hope for mercy, I can have no other notion of all the other governments that I ſee or know, than that they are a conſpiracy of the rich, who, on pretence of managing the public, only purſue their private ends, and deviſe all the ways and arts they can find out; firſt, that they may, without danger, preſerve all that they have ſo ill acquired, and then, that they may engage the poor to toil and labour for them at as low rates as poſſible, and oppreſs them as much as they pleaſe. And if they can but prevail to get theſe contrivances eſtabliſhed,

bliſhed, by the ſhow of public authority, which is conſidered as the repreſentative of the whole people, then they are accounted laws. Yet theſe wicked men, after they have, by a moſt inſatiable covetouſneſs, divided that among themſelves with which all the reſt might have been well ſupplied, are far from that happineſs that is enjoyed among the Utopians: for the uſe as well as the deſire of money being extinguiſhed, much anxiety, and great occaſions of miſchief, is cut off with it. And who does not ſee, that the frauds, thefts, robberies, quarrels, tumults, contentions, ſeditions, murders, treacheries, and witchcrafts, which are indeed rather puniſhed than reſtrained by the ſeverities of law, would all fall off, if money were not any more valued by the world? Men's fears, ſolicitudes, cares, labours, and watchings, would all periſh in the ſame moment with the value of money. Even poverty itſelf, for the relief of which money ſeems moſt neceſſary, would fall. But, in order to the apprehending this aright, take one inſtance:

Conſider any year that has been ſo unfruitful that many thouſands have died of hunger; and yet, if at the end of that year a ſurvey was made of the granaries of all the rich men that have hoarded up the corn, it would be found that there was enough among them to have prevented all that conſumption of men that periſhed in miſery; and that if it had been diſtributed among them, none would have felt the terrible effects of that ſcarcity: ſo eaſy a thing would it be to ſupply all the neceſſities of life, if that bleſſed thing called money, which is pretended

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to be invented for procuring them was not really the only thing that obſtructed their being procured!

I do not doubt but rich men are ſenſible of this, and that they well know how much a greater happineſs it is to want nothing neceſſary, than to abound in many ſuperfluities; and to be reſcued out of ſo much miſery, than to abound with ſo much wealth. And I cannot think but the ſenſe of every man's intereſt, added to the authority of Chriſt's commands, who as he was infinitely wiſe, knew what was beſt, and was not leſs good in diſcovering it to us, would have drawn all the world over to the laws of the Utopians, if pride, that plague of human nature, that ſource of ſo much miſery, did not hinder it: for this vice does not meaſure happineſs ſo much by its own conveniencies, as by the miſeries of others; and would not be ſatisfied with being thought a goddeſs, if none were left that were miſerable, over whom ſhe might inſult. Pride thinks it's own happineſs ſhines the brighter, by comparing it with the misfortunes of other perſons; that by diſplaying it's own wealth, they may feel their poverty the more ſenſibly. This is that infernal ſerpent that creeps into the breaſts of mortals, and poſſeſſes them too much to be eaſily drawn out: and therefore I am glad that the Utopians have fallen upon this form of government, in which I wiſh that all the world could be ſo wiſe as to imitate them: for they have indeed laid down ſuch a ſcheme and foundation of policy, that as men live happily under it, ſo it is like to be of great continuance; for they having rooted out of the minds of their people, all the ſeeds, both of ambition and faction, there is no danger of

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any commotions at home; which alone has been the ruin of many ſtates, that ſeemed otherwiſe to be well ſecured; but as long as they live in peace at home, and are governed by ſuch good laws, the envy of all their neighbouring princes, who have often though in vain attempted their ruin, will never be able to put their ſtate into any commotion or diſorder.

When Raphael had thus made an end of ſpeaking, though many things occurred to me, both concerning the manners and laws of that people, that ſeemed very abſurd, as well in their way of making war, as in their notions of religion, and divine matters; together with ſeveral other particulars, but chiefly what ſeemed the foundation of all the reſt, their living in common, without the uſe of money, by which all nobility, magnificence, ſplendour, and majeſty, which, according to the common opinion, are the true ornaments of a nation, would be quite taken away; yet ſince I perceived that Raphael was weary, and was not ſure whether he could eaſily bear contradiction, remembering that he had taken notice of ſome, who ſeemed to think they were bound in honour to ſupport the credit of their own wiſdom, by finding out ſomething to cenſure in all other men's inventions, beſides their own; I only commended their conſtitution, and the account he had given of it in general; and ſo taking him by the hand, carried him to ſupper, and told him I would find out ſome other time for examining this ſubject more particularly, and for diſcourſing more copiouſly upon it; and indeed I ſhall be glad to embrace an opportunity of doing it. In the mean while,

while, though it muſt be confeſſed that he is both a very learned man, and a perſon who has obtained a great knowledge of the world, I cannot perfectly agree to every thing he has related; however, there are many things in the commonwealth of Utopia, that I rather wiſh, than hope, to ſee followed in our governments.

FINIS

ERRATA.

P. 4, l. 6, from the bottom, for an eſtate of 400l. per annum, *read*, by his practice a yearly revenue of 400l.

P. 17, l. 4, *add*, after purchaſe, except the manors given him by the king.

l. 14, after no, *add*, ſuitable.

P. 38, l. 15, for regious, *read*, religious.

☞Where a quotation is not in the firſt perſon, *dele* the marginal inverted commas